

Archaeology in Global Cities

*Exploring The Profession In
London And New York City*

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I, Hana Morel, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Hana **MOREL**
March 13 2015

For Coco

Abstract

International and national agendas and policies play a vital role in shaping the conduct of archaeologists and their associated institutions. They impact on research, practice, structures, management and the on-going development of archaeology as a profession. Cities, as test beds for innovative political changes and new forms of governance, are good sources for understanding how various groups, organisations and professions – including archaeology – need to renegotiate their role, position and value within urban society.

Over the past few decades, researchers concerned with ‘the urban’ have discussed the impact of neoliberal policies on both urban governance and cultures of planning. Cities are struggling to deal with shifting distribution of powers, decision-making bodies, and the competitive demands of the global economy. Global cities often experience such challenges more strongly being attractive and lucrative spaces. In these processes environmental and cultural concerns, such as archaeology, can become sidelined.

This thesis argues that global policies have led to critical changes in how archaeology is practised. Changes range from institutional restructuring, to personal dynamics, funding, and professional opportunities. The research investigates how values, standards, communication, collaboration levels, perceptions and processes have shifted through the eyes of urban archaeologists. In analysing 115 in-depth interviews with practitioners, investigating their experiences over the span of their careers, I explore perceptions of the current trajectory of city planning in shaping urban archaeology, and what we can learn from this global city phenomenon.

The paper considers institutional and individual roles, identities, values, dynamics and systems of operation. Through a comparative study between two major global cities – London and New York City – I address the similar aspects and themes that emerge in the urban context, and suggest how these may be used to develop stronger approaches along with improved strategies for the sustainability of urban archaeology.

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To end, a quote: *'Every Day In Every Way Is Getting Better and Better...'*

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations

AAM	American Alliance of Museums
ABG	African Burial Ground
ACRA	American Cultural Resources Association
AIA	Archaeological Institute of America
ALGAO	Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers
Anon.	Anonymous
ARPA	Archaeological Resources Protection Act
BAJR	British Archaeological Jobs and Resources
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CBA LDN	Council for British Archaeology – London group
CDP	Continuing Professional Development
CEQ	Council of Environmental Quality
CEQR	City Environmental Quality Review
CIfA	Chartered Institute of Archaeology
CLG	Certified Local Government
CNEHA	Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology
COLAS	City of London Archaeological Society
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
DBA	Desk-based Assessment
DBIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DoE	Department of the Environment
DUA	Department of Urban Archaeology
DGLA	Department of Greater London Archaeology

ABBREVIATIONS

EA	Environmental Assessments
ECCO	European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisation
EH	English Heritage
EIS	Environmental Impact Statements
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
GLA	Greater London Authority
GLAAS	Greater London Archaeology Advisory Service
GLC	Greater London Council
GSA	General Service Administration
HADAS	Hendon and District Archaeological Society
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HDC	Historic District Council
HER	Historic Environment Record
HUL	Historic Urban Landscapes
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IfA	Institute for Archaeologists
IFLA	International Federation of Landscape Architects
IoA	Institute of Archaeology
LA	Local Authority
LAF	London Archaeology Forum
LAMAS	London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
LCC	London County Council
LDN	London
LPA	Local Planning Authority
LPC	Landmark Preservation Commission
MCNY	Museum of the City of New York

ABBREVIATIONS

MoL	Museum of London
MOLA	Museum of London Archaeology
MOLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Services
MoRPHE	Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment
MPP	Monuments Protection Programme
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NEPA	National Environmental Protection Act
NHM	Natural History Museum
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NRHP	National Registry of Historic Places
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
NYAC	New York Archaeological Council
NYC	New York City
NYSAA	New York State Archaeological Association
NYSHPO	New York State Historic Preservation Office
NYU	New York University
OECD	Organisation of Economic Co-operation for Development
OVPM	Organisation des Villes du Patrimoine Mondial
PANYC	Professional Archaeologists of New York City
pers. comm.	Personal comment (from interviews)
PCA	Pre-Construct Archaeology
PPG16	Planning Policy Guidance 16
REF	Research Excellence Framework
ROPA	Register of Professional Archaeologists
RPA	Registered Professional Archaeologists
SAA	Society of American Archaeology
SD	Sustainable Development
SEQR	New York State Environmental Quality Review Act
SHA	Society of Historical Archaeology

ABBREVIATIONS

SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
SNA	Social Network Analysis
Soc. Ant.	Society of Antiquaries
SOPA	Society of Professional Archaeologists
SZEA	State Zoning Enabling Act
TDP	Thames Discovery Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USACE	United States Army Corps of Engineers
WHITRAP	World Heritage Institute of Training and Research in the Asia-Pacific Region
WMF	World Monuments Fund

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a study researching the perceptions of participants involved in archaeological practices within global cities, which aims to understand how such perceptions and relationships between one another influence the outcome of archaeology within large cities undergoing changes to international and national policies. International and national changes in agendas and policies have played and continue to play a vital role in the conduct of archaeologists and their associated institutions, impacting methods of research, practice, structures, management and the on-going development of archaeology as a profession. Cities act as important test-beds for new changes in policy, and in turn archaeologists (alongside various other professions) find themselves renegotiating their role, position and value within society. Over the past few decades, urban studies researchers have explored the ways in which neoliberalisation (policies promoting free-market, privatisation and deregulation) has had an anti-democratic effect on urban governance (Brenner, 1999; Jessop, 1997; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999), an effect which has trickled down to impact and change other areas, such as archaeology and heritage. These changes range from institutional restructuring to personal dynamics, funding, professional opportunities and many other areas. This study investigates how values, standards, perceptions and processes have shifted by exploring those aspects from the archaeologist's perspective: it looks at how urban archaeologists position themselves in their broader socio-political environment; and how they reflect upon changes in their professional environment throughout their career. Particular emphasis is placed on the similarities that global cities face as neoliberal hubs, and through these similarities the study investigates the responses from the urban archaeology profession.

The purpose of this study is to focus on and provide further understanding about urban archaeology in the context of global cities. As such, London and New York City are the two case studies of choice. We explore them by conducting ethnographic and quantitative analysis of data collected from various archaeologists practising in each city (See Section 2.8). The test areas look at what the practical constraints of the archaeological process are, how they came about, the archaeologists' views on the issue, and also place them within the current system in which they function. I situate the research within the economic philosophy of neoliberalism. In addition to its association with economic liberalism, I understand neoliberalisation as a force that 'narrows the options open to decision-makers, [creating] a force of the perceived need to remain globally competitive, and [pushing] away from social policies and other options seen to threaten economic

growth' (Dryzek, 1996; Aronowitz, 2003; Giroux, 2004; Purcell, 2011: 47). Institutional and individual roles, identities, values, dynamics and systems of operation change dramatically under such pressures created under neoliberalism. The research here explores that impact through the challenges and pressures faced by today's urban archaeologists by a comparative analysis between the two cities. I then draw on these impacts to suggest some of the necessary apparatus and social channels required for urban archaeology to be sustainable in city environments.

Key to this study is the invaluable data collected from interviews, which has drawn out substantial themes related to how archaeologists view their role, responsibility, position, and relationship to the various sectors of archaeology (i.e. academia, the private industry, museums, societies, and government-funded institutions). It uses an analytical methodology (discussed in the following chapter) to unravel dynamics and relations between individuals and archaeological bodies. Dynamics and relations include issues concerning strategic agency and collective action, institutions and structures, culture and discourse, as well as the tension between path-dependency and path-shaping. It is my hope to highlight how urban archaeology has responded to socio-economic and political pressures particular to nations that have embraced deregulatory policies and neoliberal structures. In doing so, the study will contribute to debates within both archaeology and the larger field of urban studies, calling for reflection to develop a proactive – rather than reactive – plan in the face of change.

1.2 Clarifying Terminology

Before beginning, I would like to direct you to the Glossary at the end of this thesis. It is often the case that terminology attracts more attention than intended, stealing away from the initial point being made. It is not my intention to delve into the vast debate surrounding terminologies, and so throughout the chapters you will find words that are in bold font: the definition of these words are found in the Glossary, and are based on their interpretation used specifically for this particular study.

1.3 Research Questions Addressed

This thesis provides an overview of the contemporary developments of urban archaeology and conservation through presenting modern approaches to understanding the urban context in which it operates, and addressing the concerns and issues brought up by archaeologists working in two global cities. It explores the role and responsibilities of archaeologists working in the city through

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collecting an oral history of the processes experienced in two major global cities. In doing so, it also investigates how archaeological processes, roles and responsibilities have changed alongside the move towards deregulatory policies and privatisation. The results can be used as a tool for addressing managerial concerns, such as how the discipline can better arrange and organise institutions and what needs to be set in place, while working within the framework of already existing structures and policies.

The purpose is to provide an understanding of urban governance and policies, and consider how institutional structures impact the investigation and conservation of cultural resources, through an understanding of how it impacts the practitioners. The protection of urban cities has been the focus of much attention alongside participatory approaches to archaeology (see Section 1.4.1). This thesis is an effort to investigate whether insights into the function of urban archaeology can be used to promote more successful practices, organisations and structures in city archaeology.

As such, the thesis explores two central research questions:

- 1. Are there common characteristics found in the role, responsibilities, values and practice of those involved in urban archaeology due to the increasingly common attributes and policies of global cities and, if so;**
- 2. To what degree can those features provide an insight to better ways of managing the archaeological processes within future global cities?**

The study covers the organisation of archaeology in urban landscapes, and so at its core it introduces issues related to urban governance and policies, investigating how both the private and public sector have been affected by larger international and national decisions. It is quite focused in scope yet the subject matter necessitates other disciplinary concepts and tools which contribute to the interest and concern of archaeology's role in urban districts.

All effort is made to introduce and present interdisciplinary work clearly, however the thesis will not be able to cover all corners and aspects to a level that justifies the immense literature, debate and research available. Where possible, relevant references and footnotes are provided to guide readers.

The fieldwork uses ethnographic methods. The questions used and the analysis of data are both strongly influenced by network analysis and the ASID thematic synthesis (agency, structure, institutions and discourse) (see Moulaert and Jessop, 2006).

I was inspired to undertake this research because I personally see a growing sentiment of archaeologists becoming more fearful of speaking up and accepting a weakened position in their

roles within larger structures, which does not commensurate with their professional ideology. The more routine the archaeological task becomes, the greater probability the task will be satisfactorily completed without appropriate archaeological qualification¹ and standard. If the disjunction between occupational claims and actual activities persists, then accusations that too much money is wasted on archaeology or that nothing more needs to be learnt will eventually be justified. 'A way of managing this fragile situation is to align occupational identity with actual tasks' (Bucher, 1962: 45). This involves a re-definition of the occupation's boundaries in such a way as to encompass new emergent activities. Establishing roles within a tight-knit community of archaeologists and heritage specialists will expand opportunities for relations with other professions of authority and prestige. It will also establish the necessary environment for tighter and more effective supervision and accountability within the broader context of urban planning and governance. Tighter supervision and accountability will increase the value and importance of consultation and decision-making input.

1.4 The Socio-Political Context of Cities and Archaeology

Research into the theory of urban politics and archaeology, both historically embedded, increases understanding of 'qualitative shifts in the character of political processes and institutions' (Painter, 2011: 28). It is easy to be unaware as individuals or as a profession of how global politics and policies² influence our surroundings, our livelihoods and even our behaviours as a society and community. Cities, as socially constructed entities, provide opportunity to research just that. In cities, we can witness various political pursuits and strategies, observe societal responses, and pinpoint what decisions are made with little consent or public consultation (Fainstein & Campbell, 2011). Calls for reform are not new to any city, but understanding the feasibility or limitations anchored by the historical context makes consciously designed urban change necessitate a deep understanding of what can be done, and of the malleability that the urban condition permits. Major reform aside, any attempt to slot ourselves as archaeologists into a renegotiated position of value and power within a changing system requires the same depth of understanding the historical context.

Part of this includes the consideration of global processes and world politics if we are to understand urban archaeological practice (Chapter 3). World politics as a topic of study has been around for several centuries. Early 20th century intellectuals developed theories from idealism to

1 Qualification here does not indicate Institutional qualifications but more the skillset required to undertake particular areas of archaeology – whether by the 'professional' or not.

2 These policies may include free trade, competitive open markets, enhanced privatisation and deregulatory policies, as well as other economic liberalisations.

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realism, and liberalism to Marxism. From the 1980s onwards, due in part to emerging global processes, we see a surge in world theories again, contextualised according to local experience and impact. Constructivism suggests human agency potentially plays a greater role in world politics than previously thought, also developed around the same time.³ From that view, the **trend** of a particular period in world politics emerged as a series of interlinked relationships involving structural processes, individual experiences, and dominating ideologies (see Figure 1). Using this concept, changing narratives can be explored in relation to structures.⁴

The 1970s and 80s were decades of great social, economic and political change within a short period of time. People became more aware of world problems, such as world debt, diseases and environmental concerns, and set out to make a difference. It was these trends that aided the environment of the 1980s archaeological reflective focus on the social environment, ethics, community and empowerment. Today's popular world theories are globalisation and neoliberalism, both translated into archaeological rhetoric through increasing concern of urban landscapes, the impact of tourism, training local archaeologists, and many other relevant topics (Scheyvens, 2000; Van der Linde, 2013; Gould, 2014; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2014). In short, there is growing consideration of the 'connections between archaeological theory, research methods and politics' (Layton, 1989: 1).

3 For essays on major figures of the 20th century see Bronner, S.E. (ed.), 2006; Ball, T & Bellamy, R., 2003. Further reading on idealism and realism, see Copleston, 1964; Nagel, 1989; Aune, 1991 [philosophers Kant, Hegel, Plato, Leibnez, Spinoza, Descartes, Locke]; for liberalism, see Locke, 1689; Mill, 1862; Hobhouse, 1911; Dewey, 1935 [philosophers include Popper, Friedman, Hobbes, Rousseau]. For Marxism: Marx; Hegel; Lukas; Althusser Adorno. For constructivists, see Dewey, Watzlawick, Kolb.. See Campbell 2011 for readings on urban theory

4 The concept of agent and structure has been around well before the 1980s. See Mauss, 1938; Marx, 1959; Fortes, 1983; Dobres & Robb, 2000; Bourdieu, 1990; Gamble, 2004. Constructivism suggests that aspects of international relations are historically and socially constructed, and is based on interactions between individuals. I suggest that ideologies are trends, which promote principles that are then adopted as an ethos of practice in various professions. For reading on participatory archaeology, empowerment and community development, see Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993; Cripps et al, 1995; Selwyn, 1996; UNDP, 2001; Crosby, 2002; Merriman, 2004.

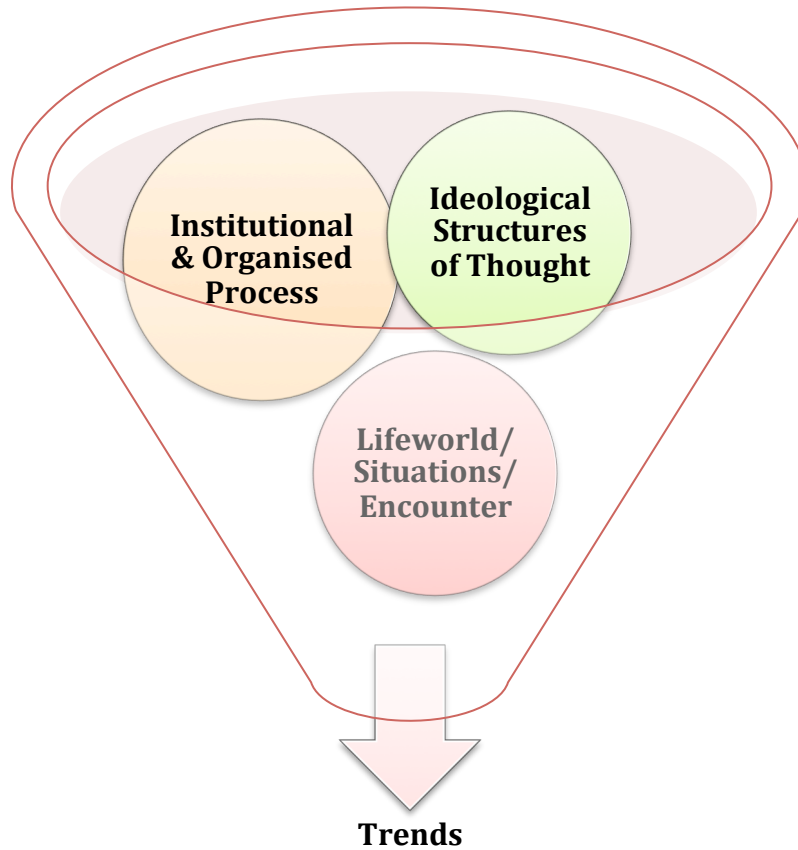


Figure 1 The dynamics of changing narratives

We can observe the relationship more clearly in cities (Chapter 3). What we see happening in cities across the world is that local governments are adopting ready-made policy ensembles developed in other places (known as policy transfers) instead of involving and engaging the public through democratic debate for generating and developing policy relevant to them. We see decision-making being taken over by panels of business leaders and economic experts, with the consideration of the competitive global market as priority (Keating, 1993; Brownhill et al, 1996; Peck, 1998; Tickell & Peck & Wai-Chung Yeung, 2003; Ward, 2000). How this effect is trickling down through various communities, stakeholders, and professions – such as archaeology – and impacting activities and structures, necessitates the rethinking of alternative strategic responses (Figure 2).

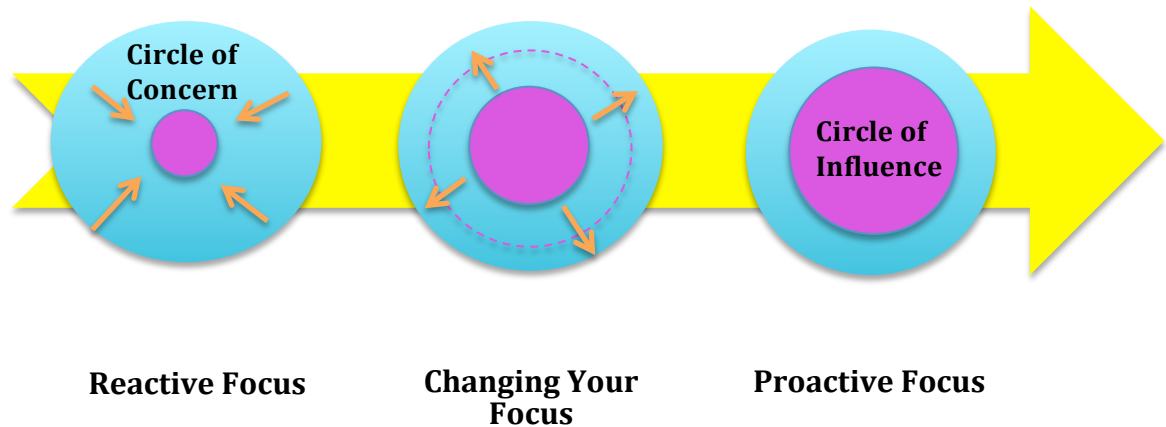


Figure 2 Adopting a proactive focus: visual representation of reactive versus proactive strategies.⁵

Of course consequences of adopted neoliberal policies are not clear-cut nor without benefits, and many adverse effects can be mitigated if addressed. Policies and consequential responses have a very clear impact and influence on the changing perceptions of how urban cultural heritage is viewed and valued. We see in later chapters how institutions and other bodies evolve alongside new or developing policies (Chapter 4 and 6). Any person familiar with both a particular institution and policy changes can easily be witness to transformations in its institutional culture. As such, an opportunity is provided here for those practising in the field over a significant time to voice their experiences as an involved actor. What cannot be discussed adequately in this thesis is captured in Appendix 5 through over 1500 pages of 115 interview transcripts, each providing an incredible insight to the profession. While each city is unique in its own way, the recurring sentiment from participants is that they feel that decisions shaping the fabric and dynamics of their city are increasingly out of their control, and as such they are faced with difficult challenges. Two phrases repeated on numerous occasions in relation to increasing external pressures were ‘choosing battles’ and ‘rocking the boat’, which is discussed later in result chapters 5 and 7.

⁵ The *Reactive Focus* is that you base the majority of your time and energy on your concerns and problems and do not take responsibility for own situation; *Changing Your Focus* is when you choose to redirect your time and energy and focus on things within your control to make a difference; *Proactive Focus* is the majority of your time is devoted to changing what is in your control and promoting integral relationships.

What we are looking at is trending narratives from archaeologists within two microcosms, or representatives, of the wider processes that impact particular niches in society. Through the study we explore politics in both a global and local context, the emergence of neoliberalism, the weakening of local government apparatuses, changes in the planning system and the development of urban archaeology from the 1970s onwards. Becoming subordinate to business interests, nuanced and historical tradition, urban design, and planning cultures and practices, undoubtedly play a big part in shaping the social, economic and physical outcomes we see in our cities today (Edwards, 1999, 2010, 2011; Hatherley, 2012; Purcell, 2011).

Below briefly introduces three developments – international frameworks and tools, the professionalisation of archaeology, and archaeology under the planning system – that are key aspects in the changes experienced by archaeologists. They are interrelated themes that play a role in the trajectory that urban archaeology is taking, and provide a background here to the context in which we are exploring.

1.4.1 Heritage-Related International Frameworks and Legal Tools

In 1972, UNESCO convened to discuss the observation that both cultural and natural heritage were ‘increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions’ and suggested to signatories that ‘effective and active measures are taken’, such as adopting policy, services, and staff for the necessary safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage (*Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, 1972: 1; Article 5). From the 1960s onwards, cities were central in the unprecedented acceleration of development, primarily from the surge of large transportation infrastructures, from motorways to underground systems, but also from the need to accommodate the growing service industry. Cities went through ‘the erosion of history’ (Heighway, 1972). Archaeologists fell into a reactionary state of urgency to safeguard whatever possible. During this period, urban archaeology went through a series of discussions regarding what exactly should be considered as archaeological remains or heritage, and how to integrate heritage into a city. These questions were happening alongside a greater issue concerning the management of urbanisation and the crisis of governance. With development being key to cities, decisions on what to protect and maintain in such a complicated landscape⁶ of highly concentrated archaeological deposits became a big issue. It continues to be a contentious issue to this day. Archaeological remains – whether built or below ground – need to be resources with potential exploitable value – i.e. economic, functional, aesthetic, scientific, symbolic, or cultural - to be safeguarded, which is partly associated with the emergence of heritage tourism and the economics of archaeological

⁶ The term urban *landscape* was coined in the 1970s (as opposed to *area* or *townscape*) to describe and include all complex changes and relationships within a city.

sites and materials becoming a popular study in archaeology.

Flatman (2011: 12) argues that ‘until the mid-1960s there was, effectively, no legal protection for antiquities in almost any country of the world – with precious few exceptions, the owners of land could pretty much do what they liked with historic materials on their property...’. While it is not entirely fair to suggest there was no legal protection (we should acknowledge that there were laws about the movement of historic materials, notably the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882 in the UK and the Antiquities Act 1906 in the US for example), it is true that the legislation in place was not prepared for the level of impact from post-war development. Only after the 1960s did we see planning laws supporting urban conservation objectives (Larkham, 1996; Cohen, 1999; Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2014). Archaeology tended to focus on other nations such as the Old World or the Classical. Although there had been an interest in ruins in the New World, such as megaliths and so forth, it was during the post-war period that focus turned to home nations, due largely to development as well as post-war planners relaying urban landscapes that led to a number of sites being accidentally discovered. There were and remain numerous learned societies formed, legal frameworks passed, and archaeological sites researched in homelands well before the 20th century, but many of those were more focused outside of cities and were patchy in focus.

Established legal frameworks for city planning or the safeguarding of material culture exist in many countries (see Chapter 4 for London and Chapter 6 for New York City), but it is also worth addressing some of the significant legal efforts that have been developed over the years specifically for historic towns and urban areas by international bodies,⁷ to demonstrate how the period under consideration saw a surge of historical awareness, or trend, in urban landscapes on a global level.⁸ Presented below in Figure 3 are some of the relevant Charters and Recommendations to urban landscape.

7 It is not within the scope of this research to discuss international bodies or regulation in detail. While this section focuses predominantly on the work of UNESCO, other sub-groups or independent bodies that work with conservation include: The Council of Europe, Eurocare, Consevare, European Heritage Forum, International Museums Office, ECCO, WMF, OVPM.com, ICOMOS, ICCROM, ICOM, International Subterranean Heritage Association, Global Development Research Center, Heritage Conservation Network and Europa.

8 This study will not discuss the Western Eurocentric approach to understanding heritage, which has and continues to be subject to debate. It will also not provide an exhaustive coverage of all the international legal frameworks. For more information in this area, see The Getty Conservation Institute website on Cultural Heritage Policy Documents, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters.html retrieved January 2014

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YEAR	LEGAL FRAMEWORK	KEY POINTS
1931	The Athens Charter	Introduces concept of International Heritage; the importance of setting of historic sites; establishment of organisations and legislation to preserve sites; custodial protection
1964	The Venice Charter: International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites	Determines the frames of city protection; importance of setting, respect for original fabric, precise documentation of any intervention, the significance of contributions from all periods, maintenance of historic buildings for social purposes
1968	UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property endangered by Public or Private works	Protection from public works
1972	World Heritage Convention: UNESCO's Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage	Introduces concept of World Heritage Sites. Places city protection into the general context of heritage protection
1976	UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas	Provides comprehensive set of standards and principles for conservation
1982	ICOMOS-IFLA International Charter for Historic Gardens	Enlargement of real of preservation to include historic gardens and parks
1987	Washington Charter: ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas	Considers broad principles for the planning and protection of historic urban areas
1990	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage	Considers archaeology in terms of definitions, integrated protection policies, legislation, survey, maintenance and conservation, presentation, reconstruction and international cooperation
1994	Nara Document on Authenticity	Recognises cultural and social values in tangible and intangible heritage
1996	The Declaration of San Antonio	Links authenticity with identity, urbanism, archaeological sites, architecture, etc.
2005	The Vienna Memorandum: World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape	Issues of sustainable urban environments. Emergence of Historic Urban Landscape concept.
2011	A New International Instrument: UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape	International efforts to develop new guidelines for urban conservation

Figure 3 List of International legal frameworks relative to urban landscapes

On-going construction developments and physical changes within cities – and consequently also of cities inscribed in the World Heritage List⁹ – led to the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS convening for what would become the *2005 Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape*, which ‘focuses on the dual challenges of enhancing the vitality of historic cities and of integrating contemporary architecture in an emerging conceptualization of historic cities as historic urban landscapes’ (Araoz, 2008: 33).¹⁰ The *Vienna Memorandum* is instrumental in that it defined the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), which has raised concern for urban centres worldwide. The *Memorandum* was the first official document to describe Historic Urban Landscapes (HULs), constituting ‘the first attempt over twenty years to revise and update the modern urban conservation paradigm’ (Bandarin & Von Oers, 2014: 62). It was this same year – in July 2005 – that the World Heritage Committee requested that a new standard-setting instrument be developed to guide cities facing difficulties in reconciling conservation alongside socio-economic development.

An outcome of the *Vienna Memorandum* was UNESCO setting up a large international working group, the Historic Urban Landscape Initiative.¹¹ It is structured to deal with the development of a theoretical framework for urban heritage conservation and to provide technical assistance to State Parties wishing to implement new approaches and schemes. The working group of experts has suggested and adopted new concepts developing further from the 1976 *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* – these new concepts include cultural diversity, intangible heritage, and traditions of local communities. It is a key initiative to develop and define new language and concepts. ‘Through language, some issues are organised *into* politics, while others are organised *out*’ (Schattschneider, 1960: 71). Definitions are critical to the establishment of awareness, scope, interpretation and protection of heritage. In NYC, for example, alternative *interpretations* of the word **historic preservation** in legislation can decidedly include archaeology, or exclude it (see Section 7.2.1.2).

Returning to the international scene, some five years after the *Vienna Memorandum*, the publication of the preliminary report *A New International Instrument: The Proposed UNESCO*

9 See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organization_of_World_Heritage_Cities for World Heritage List of Cities. The World Heritage List is a key instrument for the role of the World Heritage Committee

10 The Vienna Memorandum built definitions and concepts proposed in the 1976 Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas

11 This group includes: ICOMIS, IUCN and ICCROM and other partner organisations including the International Union of Architects, International Federation of Landscape Architects, International Federation for Housing and Planning, Organisation of World Heritage Cities, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, the International Association of Impact Assessment, the World Bank, UN-Habitat, the United Nations Environment Programme, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Inter-American Bank, the International Society of City and Regional Planners, the J. Paul Getty Foundation and the World Monuments Fund, as well as other experts and professionals.

Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2010) emerged. It recognised that ‘urban conservation is an important part of modern heritage policies’, mentioning ‘a lack of adequate tools to cope’ with new emerging threats. In late 2011, UNESCO’s General Conference adopted the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, the first such instrument on the historic environment issued by UNESCO in 35 years. Experts observed that ‘historic inner cities have often been preserved in isolation without integrating them into the broader context of their urban surroundings...[resulting] in abandonment by their traditional population and loss of identity’ (Tarar, 2014).

The *Recommendation* can only be implemented on a voluntary basis by Member States, but is nevertheless considered a ‘soft-law’ that suggests Member States adapt, disseminate, facilitate and monitor the suggestions.

The document also suggests further involvement by relevant local authorities and Member states to ‘identify within their specific contexts the critical steps to implement the HUL approach’, which includes:¹²

- To undertake comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city’s natural, cultural and human resources
- To reach consensus using participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on what values to protect for transmission to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values
- To assess vulnerability of these attributes to socio-economic stresses and impacts of climate change
- To integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development, which shall provide indications of areas of heritage sensitivity that require careful attention to planning, design and implementation of development projects
- To prioritise actions for conservation and development
- To establish the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks for each of the identified projects for conservation and development, as well as to develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private

The issue with all law, recommendations and guidelines is that while they are incredibly constructive and informative at times, their practicality and implementation are often difficult. Simply, things are easier said than done. While legislation is a significantly critical benchmark for any affair, how organisations and the archaeological community then establish themselves

12 Critical steps taken directly from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/638/> retrieved February 2014

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within that framework is what is important: the actual response to the legislation. In Chapters 4 and 6, legislations relevant to the case studies are introduced to provide the context for the following results that present dynamics and relationships between individuals within the archaeological community.

Urban heritage has become a social, cultural and economic *asset* for the development of cities. HULs are now *integrated* into the urban context, which remains a particularly controversial topic. Historic environments are social habitats, preserved alongside residing communities and competitive industries. With the concept of cultural heritage evolving and the emergence of HULs, there is re-emerging uncertainty about how historical material should be protected. Now, historic protection may include the broader urban context and topographical setting, social and cultural practices, and intangible dimensions of heritage. This is an incredible challenge.

There are many documents available (Figure 3) that discuss the protection of urban sites, but the key question is how suggestions can be implemented. They may mention ‘the demand for conservation, the special attention given to local urban practice, the survey approach, the recommendation for programming and planning, the involvement of the locals in the decision-making processes, and the educative value of the historic settings’ (Sonkoly, 2010). But practically, these recommendations suggest huge structural investments.

In the *Declaration of San Antonio* (1996), for example, there are relevant points addressing urbanism. The *Declaration* makes a ‘distinction between dynamic sites, where material changes may be acceptable as part of an on-going evolution of the site [and] contains a number of recommendations concerning architecture and urbanism, archaeological sites, and cultural landscapes’ (The Getty Conservation Institute: ICOMOS Symposia). It considers the values around authenticity, discussing authenticity alongside identity, history, materials, social value, dynamic and static sites, stewardship, and economics. These are important issues for developing and dealing with HULs, despite falling short of considering changes in professional practice, standards and structure. The concept of cultural heritage has evolved tremendously moving beyond simple preservation of the built – or physical – environment. It has begun to include entire human environments with both tangible and intangible qualities. But, again, how can we turn these new understandings into something practically applicable? Approaches now involve innovative schemes that not only engage the public, private and civic sectors, but also aim to welcome change and development as part of the story and identity of the landscape. Dr Ron van Oers, Vice Director of the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research in the Asia-Pacific region (WHITRAP), mentions that ‘safeguarding the built environment should be supported by by-laws and revised planning and building regulations, providing guidance and advice to

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planners, home owners and developers on the do's and don'ts in the historic city' (Tarar, 2014). While by-laws and revised regulations (or some sort of legal framework) are absolutely necessary, the margin between sub-standard deliverance and best practice often resorts to goodwill from the parties involved. We see this quite clearly in our London and NYC case studies later on.

Many of us working or involved in the planning system know that archaeology as an environmental concern can be significantly undervalued in cities, which do not identify strongly with their historic landscape, in the hierarchy of planning concerns. It can and easily does get swept under the carpet amidst the vast range of social, cultural and economic concerns. The study demonstrates how reinterpretations, or other economic/political priorities, can invariably sideline – or streamline - protection of the environment, whether that concerns biodiversity, pollution, or the various cultural and natural heritages being affected.

The *Vienna Memorandum* (2005: Article 10) is another document that recognises 'the expanding notion of cultural heritage...requires new approaches to and methodologies for urban conservation and development...' which have not been fully realised. There is a need to develop an appropriate theoretical foundation that can appreciate, protect and understand how to conserve and manage historic fabric within urban landscape, while simultaneously devising *practical ways* to maintain the value of its characteristics without being seen as threatening or obstructive to a city's higher agendas of international competition, economic markets and other challenges they face.

To end this section, it is worth highlighting extracts from the 2010 Recommendations Preliminary Report, *The Way Forward*:

A reflection on the changing role of urban historic areas and on the way to synergize socio-economic development and conservation strategies is necessary. (...) New urban conservation tools for the management of urban values need to be defined. These may include tools to involve the participation of the communities of stakeholders in the definition of the value system of an historic place, tools to define and protect integrity of the urban fabric and the urban landscape, tools to identify the trade-offs and the limits of acceptable change in an historic context (UNESCO, 2010: 3).

The heritage paradigm shift of recent years recognises that the tools developed so far for the protection of heritage need to adapt to the expanding concepts of cultural heritage. This includes new suggestions of heritage integrating alongside development. These new tools and strategies for the management of urban values will ultimately change the structure and practice of concerned disciplines, such as archaeology. London and New York City are two cities that integrate heritage alongside development, and in looking closely at them we can see how archaeologists cope and deal with protection frameworks weakening in the name of global competitiveness, real estate, austerity, and fading standards.

1.4.2 Professionalisation of Archaeology

The professionalisation of archaeology – or in fact any practice – is a genuine sociological question that delves into what makes the ‘professional’ different from the amateur or enthusiast. It is an even more urgent topic should we expect to use laws and regulations to defend archaeology and ensure that standards are maintained. However, it leads to huge controversial issues which, oftentimes, are destructive in terms of the promotion of the citizen science movement, public inclusion and participation, and internal turmoil. However, I do not discuss that here, and merely introduce the theory of professionalisation to provide a further understanding of our own profession.

Such investigation into what distinguishes professions from non-professions has long been a topic of discussion (Barber, 1963; Carr-Saunders & Wilson 1933; Goode 1957; Greenwood 1957; Parsons 1954; Anleu, 1992) with the achievement of little consensus. Taylor (1995: 500) suggests that in seeking to find what a profession is, we should look at what it decidedly is not by its members, as in, ‘what terms might be taken to express an antithesis to the professional ethos?’ Amateurs, dilettanti, enthusiasts and other such words may be marked as being distinctly unprofessional, Taylor claims, and may even be a threat to professional status.

What have most commonly been attributed to being a professional are (Anleu, 1992: 24):

- The need for formal educational and entry requirements
- A monopoly over an esoteric body of knowledge and associated skills
- Autonomy over the terms and conditions of practice
- Collegial authority
- A code of ethics
- Commitment to a service ideal

The fundamental quality behind professionalisation is that there is some control over standards: a sort of immunity to other outside market forces and competition make it a distinctive profession, precisely because the *legitimate* practitioners hold a particular certified qualification of knowledge and skill.

Interestingly, the development of professionalisation seems to follow similar routes and tensions across many disciplines. It is not just archaeology that finds conflict and tension from the professionalisation of practice (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Anleu, 1992; Taylor, 1995). As Anleu (1992: 23) states, ‘deep schisms and inequalities, or segments, prevail in all occupations...’ and are very much set in dependent and historical contexts. Anleu’s research of conditions in

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which members of an occupation are able to attain, not just claim, professional status suggests that ‘professional claims (...) are most successful where bureaucratic guidelines or legislation guarantee access to a clientele’ (1992: 24). Here we go back to archaeology’s accomplishment in gaining supportive legal frameworks, as they act as a strong tool of power, or at least the ‘ability to produce intended effects’ (Russell, 1938) if used to their potential.

While the historical development of any profession is clearly a crucial factor for understanding the various roles and dynamics of actors in the profession, it is also necessary to understand the organisational behaviour and management of professions in general. How a practice is structured, and the different work settings that are in place, create an authority distribution alongside a varying division of labour. Based on where in the hierarchy, or perhaps even heterarchy, an organisation or larger structures are involved, they then merge with a variety of networks and relationships. These networks and relationships may be with members of other professions, organisational superiors, professional peers, non-professional employees, participants within other organisations, and members of the public (such as clients).

These various relationships and dynamics bring in expectations, interests and values of professional roles (Abbott, 1988: 191; Merton, 1968: 423), which influence the professional’s actions, authority and ability to pursue professional objectives. They also help define the profession and establish initiatives (see Figure 4). A problem emerges if the profession is split into different roles, which then carry out different duties or responsibilities: if the entire profession does not have a sense of common duties or responsibilities, the profession as a whole may suffer. ‘The incompatibility of other participants’ expectations with professional goals and orientations combined with lack of authority and prestige are potential sources of conflict and tension within work contexts’ (Anleu, 1992: 25). We can easily assimilate Anleu’s analysis of professionalisation into issues that archaeology is facing. For example, has archaeology fragmented itself into sectors that take on different duties and responsibilities, leading to false expectations from academics, commercial archaeologists, state officials and local societies towards each other?

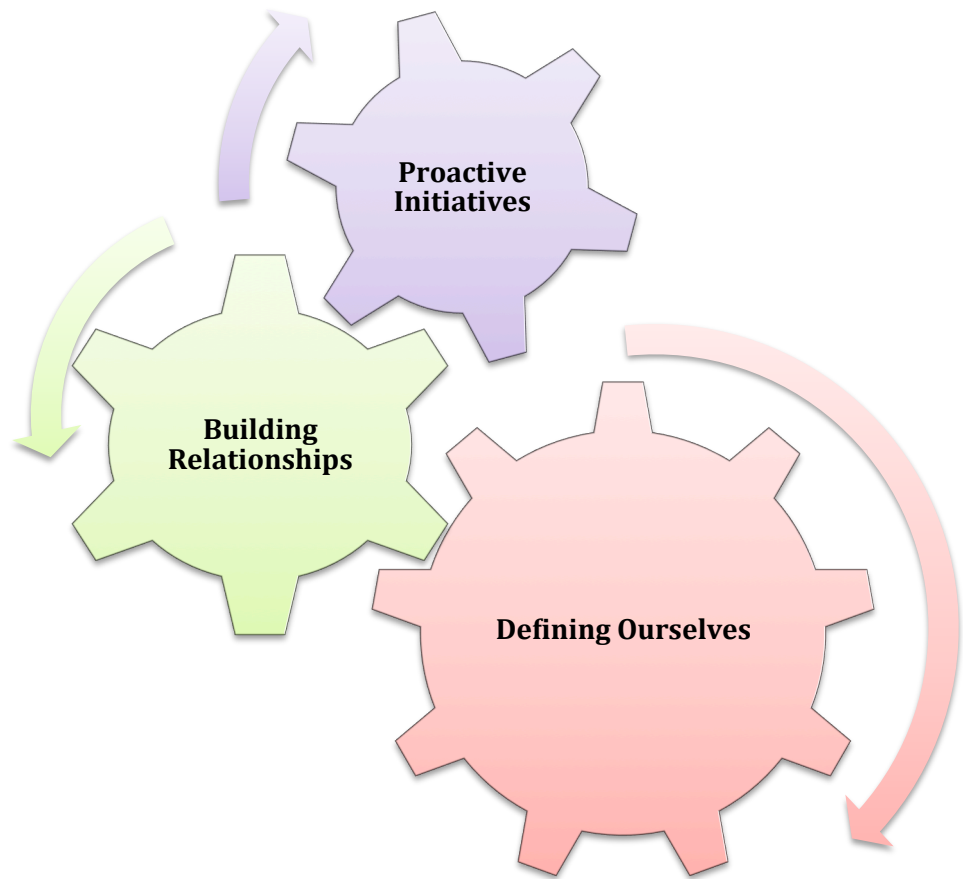


Figure 4 Proactive tactics to enhance professionalisation & build relationships

All these relationships and the drive for professionalism are rooted in power and associated phenomena such as authority, influence, control, pressure, coercion, security and conflict, to name only a few (Giddens, 1984, 1989, 1990). In this work, power is defined as *the capacity to produce effects physically and/or socially* and is a strategy, or technique, that can be exercised.¹³

Most debates among social and political theorists relate to whether power is acquired, how it operates and how it is exercised. Some theorists seek to explain and understand power as internalised within the social structures, shaping actors (or agents), while others see it as an expression and exercise of the human agent. Immediately this highlights the interplay between actor and structure. Power relations are created and maintained subtly and diffuse in ways that are adopted into social practices (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, Foucault, 1982; McNay, 1994), and we can actually see this in London and New York City as different actors exercise their power to

¹³ Central to my epistemology is the work of Bourdieu, Foucault, Gramsci and Marx who are not discussed in any detail here. There is an emphasis on physical resources and material structures or symbolic power in constructing the fabric of social power.

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negotiate and produce outcomes.

This power is based on concrete relationships within the immediate work environment and larger socio-political environment. French and Raven (1959) categorise five sources of social power, which have undertones similar to the attributes that define professionals, as:

- Expert and informational knowledge and skills
- The ability to reward
- The capacity to coerce (i.e. the ability to force or insist against the other's will)
- Legitimacy of position or authority (i.e. having a high position or role)
- Referent power (i.e. charisma, esteem, reputation, identification)
- Control over information¹⁴

We see later how specific economic, political, social and historical conditions helped spur the professionalisation of archaeology, and how the use of the above attributes then furthered its position in the planning environment. These sources of social power have to be utilised consciously and effectively in the **archaeological community** to develop a deeper and stronger relationship with developers, planners, the media and so on. Our position needs to be renegotiated with reflection of societal changes and demands, and we need to use our power sources for successful outcomes.

In all professions, the reliance on government agencies for employment and the inability of a profession's capacity to control the credentialing process inhibit the practice's claim for professional status (Anleu, 1992; Taylor, 1995). We see this in archaeology. Archaeology's increasing dependence on the development industry means that there is a reliance on government agencies' on-going support towards taking material culture into consideration.¹⁵ Archaeology also struggles in that established professional bodies do not have the necessary authority towards controlling the credentialing process in the two cities considered, and consequently, no national archaeological body effectively enforces standards of archaeological practice. Only recently, at time of writing, has archaeology become a Chartered Profession under the professional body in the UK. What this means beyond a simple title is yet to be revealed, though some see it as a stepping stone to greater control in the credentialing process.

So while there are standards and codes of ethics, the question ultimately comes down to whether

14 Control over information has come to be seen as the sixth source of power (Pettigrew, 1972; Raven, 1965; Marsden & Friedkin, 1994), and does play a significant role in the professionalisation of archaeology and so will be considered alongside French and Raven's categorisation.

15 For example, in the US, this is seen through Federal Law – the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), while in the UK it is part of PPG16 Archaeology and Planning, now substituted by the NPPF.

there are any repercussions or stringent enforcements of those principles. In London and NYC, we look at *why* a majority of participants feel that organisations set up to monitor and maintain standards have struggled, and how minimum standards instead of best practice can act as an obstacle in raising the bar higher. Furthermore, another hindrance to obtaining professional status is that qualifications required for work have been determined largely by the employing organisation rather than the professional association (Anleu, 1995). It is worth considering which sectors of the occupation have been more successful than others in securing autonomy and control *vis a vis* clients. Having a lack of control over clients/customers, with little decision-making authority, reduces the chances of obtaining status necessary to improve targets and standards in archaeology.

I have discussed generic issues of professionalisation here, in hope that the reader knows an adequate amount about archaeology to consider the comparisons. However we will come back to this later using the case studies (see Chapter 5 and 7). Consideration of the historical emergence of any profession is, of course, crucial to understanding the context of development. Archaeology's evolution can be traced back to the 15th and 16th century's fascination with the past, embodied by aristocratic 'antiquaries' and dilettantes who explored the various disciplines concerned with archaeology. During the Enlightenment the discipline took a leap towards the systematisation of archaeology, and then throughout the 19th century, the clergymen and scholars of the practice found themselves gradually replaced by the expansion of the professional archaeologist with the more scientific and qualified practitioners. Archaeology very much owed its origins to amateurs (whose enthusiasms did not seek financial reward) and evolved alongside these amateurs into the growth of academic archaeology (Taylor, 1995). The aim of digging had been predominantly about discovery of artefacts and structures, and only a few prominent figures had used investigative methods of a systematic basis, with meticulous recordings.

It is not in the scope of this research to provide a detailed account of the past five centuries of archaeology's *development*,¹⁶ but instead to focus on the latter half of the 20th century in regards to *professionalisation*. There is a distinction between the *development* of archaeology and the *professionalisation* of archaeology. In regard to professionalisation, 'expressed crudely, in historical terms, there can be no self-defined amateurs until they can be condescended to by self-defined professionals' (Taylor, 1995: 502). However, amateur or not, there can be *development*. Although professionalisation is seen as synonymous with development, they are distinct. In many of the sciences, breakthroughs and advancement are aided by the involvement of amateurs and

16 For a history of archaeology, see Trigger, 1989. Some key individuals that brought attention and development to the study of archaeology were John Leland, William Camden, William Harvey, John Aubrey, William Stukeley, Johan Winckelmann, Thomas Jefferson, Napoleon, Thomas Bruce, William Cunnington, Pitt Rivers, William Flinders Petrie, Heinrich Schliemann, and Arthur Evans.

enthusiasts.¹⁷ However, the move towards professionalisation is an independent concern. ‘As part of the process of organising and professionalising their disciplines during the latter years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, American scientists [established] societies which discouraged, if not barred, amateur participation’ (Rothenberg, 1981: 305). The eligibility of a member and the internal structure of such societies/bodies came with the clear intention of preventing domination by avocational or academic societies. So this process of professionalisation is quite separate from developments, or improvements in the practice (Figure 5).

Archaeology in many ways had been an exception to this move of discarding the amateur from the community, not least because it started from them. However with the arrival of government requirements and professional bodies, their exclusion began based on educational qualification or employment status. Professional archaeologists do realise that individuals still contribute to the progress of the practice, and that the observational and interpretative nature of archaeology lends itself to the active participation of amateurs. They also know that without involving the public, they risk losing support which has detrimental consequences. Interested members of the public, if properly stimulated and guided, could gather great information and data for the good of archaeology; they could also mobilise support and interest. Their inclusion, however, does create a dynamic that has resulted in a complex organisational structure in that groups dominated by the amateurs survive alongside specialised ‘professional’ groups. The result is an interlocking, coordinated – and sometimes dysfunctional - network of professional and non-professional archaeologists that operate on different levels of communication, sophistication, control, and power.

In terms of urban archaeology, we continue to professionalise: archaeology does not have a legal mandate for the conduct of its affairs; no codified laws or rules define its activities, specify appropriate strategies, nor determine what should be recorded¹⁸; there are few formal organisational constraints on its activities; the level of supervision is neither frequent nor rigorous; publication beyond technical reports is scarce as there are no specific rules or guidelines defining further obligations and responsibilities; and as archaeologists can and do receive referral from other non-archaeology clientele personnel and organisations, there is little weight in the feedback and peer-review from other archaeologists. These all have significant implications for archaeology.

17 See Rothenberg’s (1981) analysis on the practice of Astronomy; See also Graber, 2014 ‘Online gamers help solve protein structure’ at <http://www.scientificamerican.com/podcast/episode/online-gamers-help-solve-protein-st-11-09-21/>

18 To clarify, I am suggesting that while there are laws in place stating archaeology is a material consideration and is embedded in planning law, guidance and recommendation documents on *how* to execute watching briefs, excavations, and other processes are not laws or rules in themselves – and archaeologists are free to conduct these activities as they deem fit.

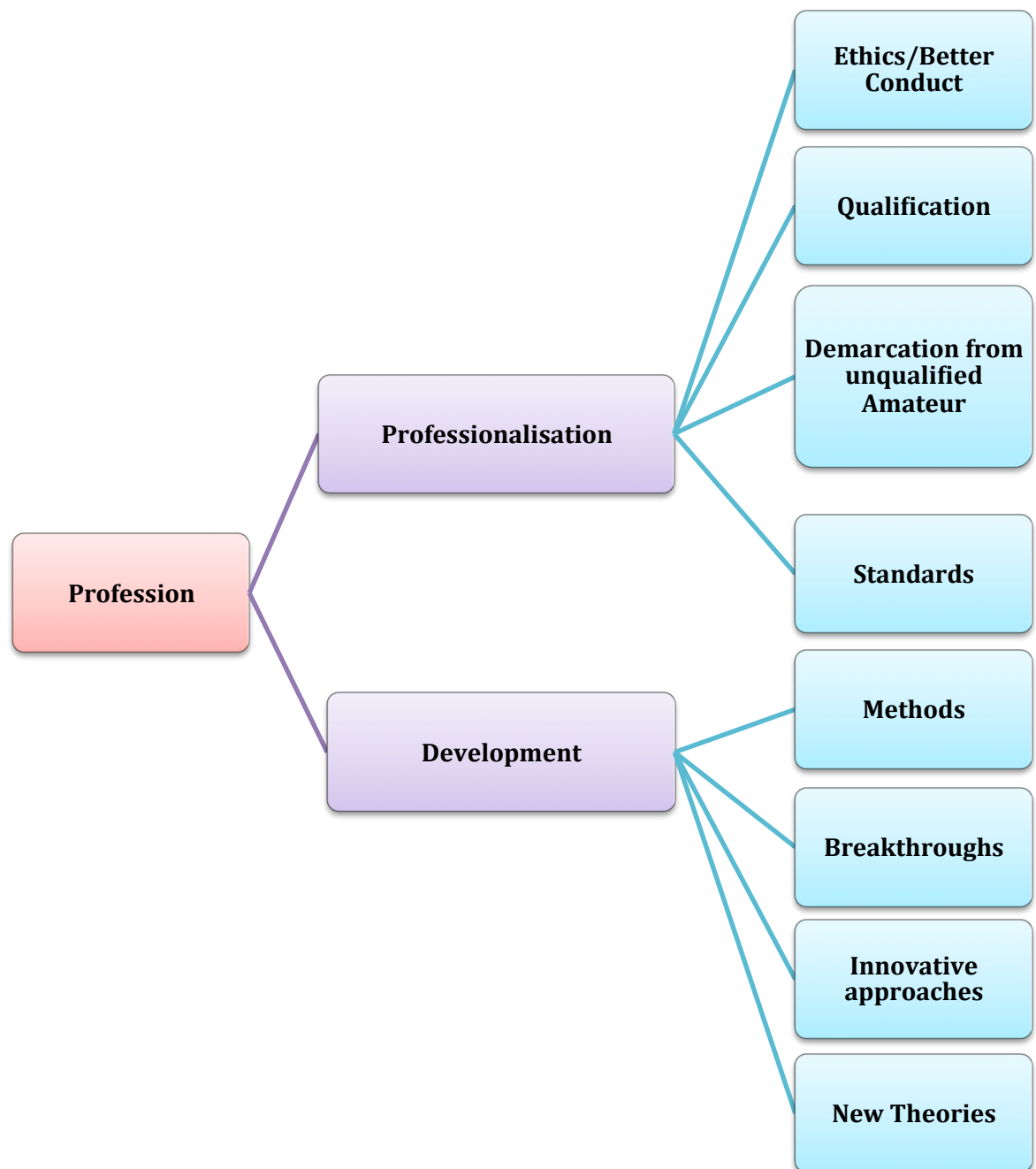


Figure 5 Outputs of professionalisation versus development

1.4.3 *In the Hands of Planners*

Urban archaeology is strongly tied to development and planning. Archaeological investigation and conservation in cities generally take place within the context of a two-tier system (State and Local) of legislative requirements and planning regulations. Some nations have a three-tier system whereby it is Federal, State and Local. Because State and Local Government control regulation in planning and development, there is generally some sort of legal system set-up using the polluters pay principle to ensure that unwanted impact of development is considered in the process. This system prompts the majority of archaeological work done in the city, which means it is both led and funded by development. Chapters 4 and 6 introduce the Acts, policies and legislation concerned with this set-up. The fundamental point, however, is that archaeology is increasingly placed in the hands of planners and developers, whose aims and agendas are in most cases different to the overall goals of urban conservation. This means that investigation and presentation of sites generally occur in a vacuum, with limited reference or vision to an *overall* planning concept, which in fact is required by London and NYC city planning policy. It also means that archaeologists are increasingly contracted and financed by clients whose main interests are generally far from those of archaeology.

There are many conflicting opinions about whether the surge in contract archaeologists has changed the ethos of archaeology, particularly because it now pulls in most of the money and employment rates for archaeologists. With large-scale urban regeneration undertaken from the 1960s onwards, and legislation putting material culture as a consideration in planning, development drives both archaeological investigation and capital, while simultaneously being the driver for the destruction of revealed sites.

There are various instruments and methods that have been adopted for identifying potential areas of archaeological sites in cities, but still cities find it difficult, or have yet to develop the tools and strategies, to manage archaeological sites within an interrelated urban landscape. It lacks an overall plan. Furthermore, because such widespread development has already removed so many layers of stratigraphy without much consideration, most cities are left with only a set of isolated or individual sites that actually comprise the existing urban structure, or back the mindset that there is nothing left to consider anyway.

With archaeology under the planning system and with growing professional status, the issue of responsibility needs to be addressed. Given the old antagonism between archaeologists and planners, it seems that archaeologists have become accustomed to taking the back seat and being grateful for having any recognition in the planning system at all. That dynamic, relationship – or

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power struggle – has led to a multitude of tensions within the planning environment and also amongst the archaeology community. Instead of reflecting internally at the issues we as archaeologists reinforce, it seems that we use developers and planners as the scapegoats for a lot of our problems.

The situation needs to be put into perspective. Whether the developer cares or not for the archaeology, it *is* the archaeological community's responsibility to make sure that their practice offers something valuable. It is the archaeological community that has to maintain standards, provide results for peers, relevant disciplines, and the public. It is the archaeological community's responsibility to *inform* the developer and other relevant decision-makers. Developers can understand the need for planning obligations: whether they care or not is a different issue, and whether they want to pay for it yet another.

Planning obligations are set out with clear targets. They form a vital part in the process of planning permissions to make a development acceptable.

Planning obligations are set up for three purposes.¹⁹ To:

- **Prescribe** the nature of developments
- **Compensate** for loss or damage created by a development, or
- **Mitigate** a development's impact

The aim behind these purposes is to establish a relationship between the planning authority and developer, to consider how the development may be unacceptable or inappropriate, and how it 'could be made acceptable through the use of conditions' (NPPF, 2012: Paragraph 203). The conditions should also be 'necessary, relevant to planning and development to be permitted, enforceable, precise and reasonable in all other respects' (NPPF, 2012: Paragraph 206). However, law is predominantly about a process, and is rarely concerned with outcome in terms of archaeological investigation. Conditions are very often sidelined in the name of encouraging development and attracting investment. In January 2014, a Department for Communities and Local Government spokesman said:

The government is concerned that too many unreasonable conditions are imposed, which can be up to 100 different requirements. In turn, these can then prevent construction work...sometimes adding years to the planning process.

¹⁹ <https://www.planningportal.gov.uk/planning/applications/decisionmaking/conditionsandobligations> retrieved Feb 2013. This is specific to the UK. Development has required planning permission since the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 was introduced, coming into effect 1 July 1948. However the same concepts apply to the US.

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Environmental impact assessments...*impose* significant costs on the planning system, over and above long-standing, domestic environmental safeguards. It has become apparent that some local planning authorities require detailed assessment of all environmental issues irrespective of whether directives actually require it; similarly, some developers do more than is actually necessary to avoid the possibility of more costly legal challenges, which adds delays and cost to the application process (DCLG, 2014).²⁰

While I use UK examples here, very similar rhetoric is held in the US. Government authorities tend to support developers: developers have significant power and can lobby and pressure politicians to weaken or override legislation, using the argument that development improves plenty of other economic and political factors that take priority. Development is happening at such a pace that city centres, skylines and waterfronts are transformed unrecognisably to compete on an international scale. Responses to these changes are diverse. Different cultural traditions and varied attitudes by the government lead to different public policies being set up. However, at the same time, many cities are facing a crisis of governance as boundaries and borders blur and overlap internationally. The decisions and determination made by city leaders to ‘provide facilities aimed at capturing economic advantage’ while also trying to be sensitive to the needs and views of their local citizens is proving complicated (Newman and Thornley, 2005). Strategic urban planning policy is the manifestation of this interaction between broader economic pressures and local needs. Those involved and concerned with the democracy of city planning are in a tough battle in raising their profile and agendas.

In considering the history of archaeology as a practice, it is fair to say that legal considerations about how to conserve and interpret urban archaeological resources are still at a fairly basic level and tend to be site-specific. Allen Caitlin in ‘Archaeology and Urban Planning: Using the Past in Design for the Future’²¹ mentions that:

...while some of these site-based interpretations are excellent, they are generally inward, rather than outward looking. Often inside large new office blocks, public buildings such as courts and in some cases purpose built museums, they tend to be isolated not only from their historic context but also modern urban context in which they survive (Caitlin, 2005).

The opportunity that archaeology can provide as a rich finite resource has still not yet been recognised by local government. With interests focused more towards the development boom we see across major cities than in conservation, it would be particularly beneficial to envisage archaeology *as part of* new design concepts, with a strategy to implement interpretation for the whole city. This, of course, needs funding and support from both government and the public.

20 <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/planning-conditions-and-environmental-impact-assessments>

21 Discussion is specific to Australia but very much applicable to other cities

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Archaeologists are increasingly being perceived as contractors dealing with routine matters associated with planning conditions, rather than directly concerned with the urban fabric and planning. These perceptions largely determine the actual tasks archaeologists perform. The routine work that most archaeologists deal with in contract may not directly link to the individual's qualifications, credentials or skills acquired through training and education. This represents a central dilemma concerning roles and expectations touched on earlier in the previous section on professionalisation.

Archaeologists are paid to do the necessary work to check off planning conditions quickly and under pressure. In doing so, they potentially overlook other duties they feel may be a part of the archaeological profession. Many contract archaeologists voice how they would love to be more engaging with the public, and have more time to look over finds, do comparative studies, and take more care. The constraints of the job restrain such opportunities. This reinforces the perception of sector-based roles and jurisdictions. The profession is split into sectors, but is further split based on role expectations versus the actual roles and responsibilities of others in different sectors. Territories are being renegotiated and redefined, as roles shift according to a new organisational structure. Sectors are given informal authority and jurisdiction over an area which results in other sectors assuming they can leave responsibilities for someone else to do.

Archaeologists are adapting strategies to cope with their expected roles. This transformation and fragmentation impacts the *archaeological cycle* (Figure 6).

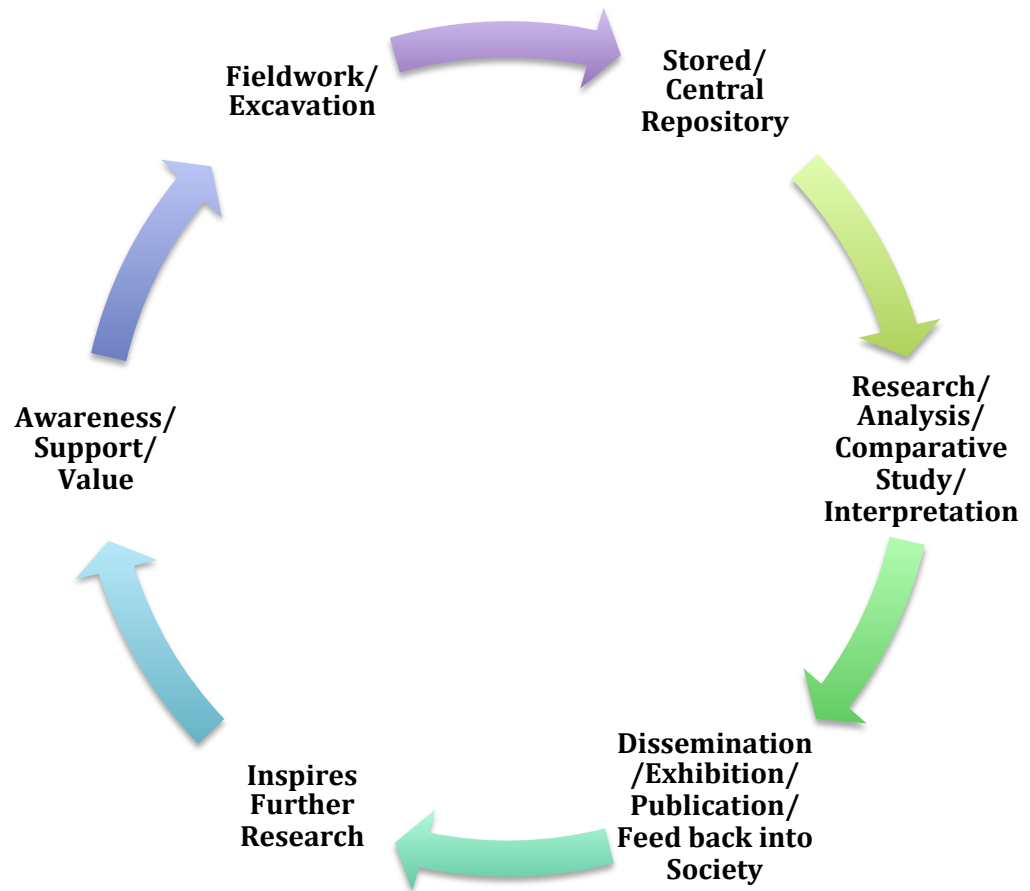


Figure 6 The archaeological cycle

The archaeological cycle is largely disrupted by the current system in place. The necessary apparatus required, or even set up, is squeezed of resources. Innovative strategies fall largely to the discretion of the archaeologist. Also, the planning/developer monopolisation as the main clientele effectively limits autonomy. This limitation of authority, or dependence on others for recognition of skills, also plays a part in establishing legitimacy. Further issues of client-confidentiality, professionals not sharing data, or other methods of restricting output, encourage conflict and tensions.

All of the themes raised above are intricately related to one another, and play critical roles in the direction that archaeology is moving towards. They are three themes in archaeology that play an integral part in improving the practice in an urban context. How we understand and debate these issues consequentially impact how archaeology evolves in actual practice. The social context of our practices does form the framework of how we understand, develop and respond to the new demands of our social, economic and political environment.

1.5 Digging in Global Cities: My Perceptions

The themes introduced above provide an important backbone to exploring archaeology within the context of cities. They are themes that have emerged from my personal experience in archaeology during my years of working in cities, but are also *generic themes* for many other professions. The relationship between the themes is discussed in terms of archaeology's role in society (Figure 7). International norms, professionalisation and being a part of the planning process all feed into wider discussions related to the concept of cultural heritage, urban conservation, inclusive planning, and the impact of neoliberal policies on the urban fabric.

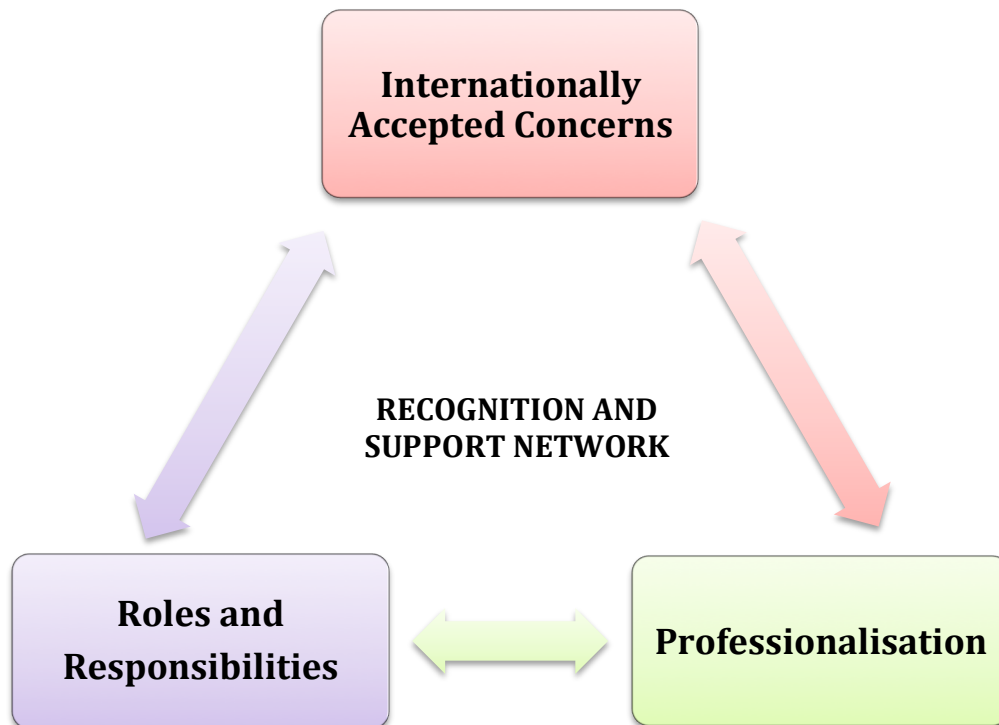


Figure 7 The relationship between themes

Many cities have a high concentration of material culture by the very nature of being a geographically strategic area. My interest in urban archaeology came from growing up and living in seven large cities. Coming from an undergraduate degree in Sociology/Philosophy and Media Studies, I became interested in the macro and micro within social, economic and political contexts. During my MA Archaeology at University College London, I was able to see how social theories were constructive towards exploring the function of urban archaeology. Having been involved in projects for several years in the UK, Turkey and the US, I came to realise that

particular projects along with their explicit goals and targets were being hindered and delayed by internal and insular mindsets. This simple observation seemed true in the different cities I worked in. Discussion with various colleagues working across the globe allowed me to open to the idea that collaborative efforts played a critical role in the success or failure of projects (see Figure 8 for different approaches to projects). Projects, or indeed the team, suffered because of one individual for example. Collaborations were cut because of personal vendettas. Or on the contrary, success stories rode off the back of charismatic leaderships or well-formed teams.

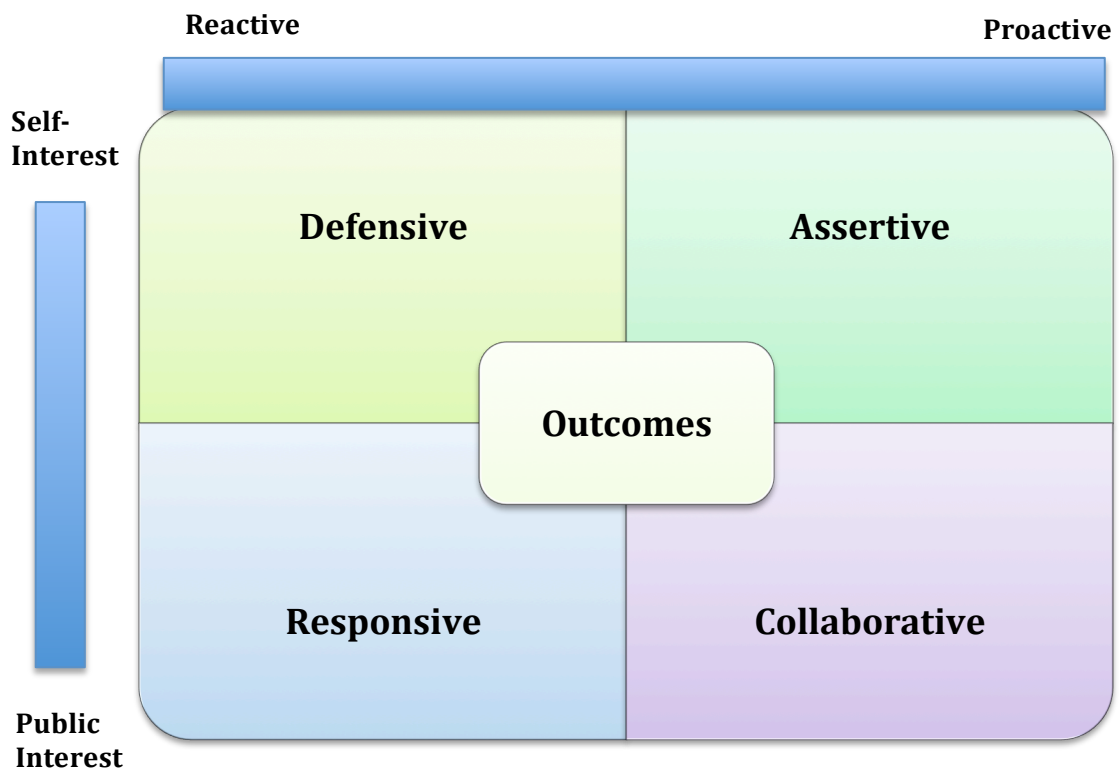


Figure 8 Different approaches to projects and their potential outcomes (adopted from Shannon, Rawlins and Martin, 2014)

What I witnessed was that archaeologists working in cities all faced similar problems. They all had good intentions of public participation, dissemination of information, and other forward-thinking approaches. Yet, the necessary structures or channels were either not in place to allow the realisation of their goals, or not tapped into.

These issues inspired me to create an urban ‘umbrella’ or network in both London and NYC in 2008/2009. I had begun in NYC, where over a period of 3 months, I set up – with the support of Landmark Preservation Commission City Archaeologist Amanda Sutphin – a network involving professionals, museums, and other archaeological/historical societies. The idea was to create a

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link between London and New York, and eventually other cities, so that challenges faced in cities could be shared and learnt from. My return to London and my on-going pursuit for this vision was not at all met with open arms. The environment was, in the words of a colleague,²² ‘what can only be called active disinterest that bordered on the deliberately obstructive’, riddled with ‘gatekeeper syndrome’ and a competitive environment.

I turned my interest of creating an archaeological city network into a PhD to understand the dynamics and historical development of the city’s archaeology from a contemporary perspective. I admittedly came into the topic naively, assuming it would be more straightforward than I now realise. A full appreciation of understanding archaeology at work in cities opens up so much, which will require separate attention in future research due to the incredibly rich information retrieved from the data collection.

The relationship of power is an important issue addressed throughout the study. Not only is power a dominant dynamic in any structure, but also the exercise of power creates both prosperous and damaging relationships between archaeologists and external bodies. Previous experience has made this an important issue for me. Briefly, I had come from working on a site in Turkey. Our small team had suffered incredibly under bad management: working sleepless nights in a row at the laboratory, being accused of stealing reports and spying for the municipality, as well as writing a book to be published without authorship. Since then I have realised that this is no strange environment for many aspiring archaeologists. However, what I found interesting came on day one of my PhD. The graduate tutor at the time provided an anecdote of a previous student who had claimed to be assistant director of an excavation. Contact was made with the director, who then refuted such claims. Based on seniority, one claim was taken at face value over the other. In my own experience, I was very aware that the director was abusing their seniority when in similar situations. The role of senior versus junior, and generation gaps, is raised in this study.

Not an incredible amount has been written about the contemporary history of archaeology (for research on the current system, see Fahy, 1987; Aitchison, 1999a, 1999b; Aitchison & Edwards, 2003; Schlanger & Aitchison, 2010; Everill 2007, 2009; Everill & Nicolls, 2011; Everill & Young, 2012; and publications in various Rescue News bulletins), but there are some fantastic publications nevertheless. More importantly, publications are few in interdisciplinary approaches or holistic understandings in how politics of the city and neoliberalism impact our decisions.

22 Colleague requests anonymity

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To conclude, I agree with the following extract:

...there is a lack of visionary thinking in local government regarding the conservation of our archaeological heritage. While overall awareness of archaeological requirements in legislation means the process of development results in more archaeology being done, the planning frameworks still lack a forward vision for conservation of the archaeological layers in the urban landscape. We are still seeing ad-hoc and isolated conservation attempts (Caitlin, 2005).

I think that more archaeologists need to be involved with the processes taking place within their city regardless of whether they are specialised in completely unrelated regions, time-periods, specialisations, and so on. I advocate that it is the duty of every archaeologist to be aware of the structure in place within their work institutions and the city in which they work. These environments are the very root of what happens to archaeology, whether or not an archaeologist sees themselves as a part of the process or not. It is my goal to encourage this viewpoint.

1.6 Researching Urban Archaeology in Global Cities

My initial assumption that urban archaeologists do not work together was not correct. There are a lot of archaeologists that focus in the city, and have been battling obstacles for decades. After this journey I realised that there are so many passionate archaeologists out there who truly go out of their way for the sake of promoting archaeology. My intention is to capture their passion which exists amidst the challenges and tensions presented.

Researching urban archaeology in global cities sheds light on an incredible amount of interrelated issues, research, disciplines and interest that forcibly come together because of the very nature of cities being a concentration of contradiction.

Today, historic cities constitute the largest heritage 'category' on the World Heritage List, with over 250 inscribed sites out of more than 900 (UNESCO, 2011). A new heritage paradigm, new forms of governance and new structures mean that in order to make sense of our urban environments, we must embrace (together with surveyors, architectural designers and urban planners) an integrated landscape management approach.

1.7 Research & Contribution

The chapters in this book come together to present a very real insight into the functioning of archaeology in two of the most dominant cities in the world. It also presents the cities in their international context, and offers a good understanding of urban governance within the global

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framework. As such it provides the theoretical foundation to our understanding of capitalist development, and how to respond to the challenges it creates. It develops an historical narrative of recent history through the voices of the archaeologists; those voices captured in the 115 interviews provide a rich social history of the last 50 years, which happens to be an incredible turning point in history for archaeology. The interviews alone, all in Appendix 5, are a fantastic archive of oral history that is highly valuable, independent of the thesis itself.

The research also contributes to urban archaeology through revealing individual relationships and dynamics, and how those relationships and dynamics need to be taken into account in order to succeed in collaborative efforts.

The scope and reach of this study towards understanding contemporary archaeology is vast: it can be used by all sectors as a source of issues to consider for setting up collaborative projects or developing internal structures; it provides a fantastic archive of oral history rich with extensive insight into dominant views by key players and emerging archaeologists; it offers food for thought in areas that can be explored further such as the roles of particular bodies, the enforcement of guidelines and standards, and further comparative work between more socially inclined countries; it addresses relevant concerns and considers whether they are old and recurring, such as funding, or newly emerging (or at least newly recognised) challenges such as the mental health and well-being of archaeologists (see PIA forum, 2014).

It is equally critical to understand the structure and practice of archaeology through participants, and explore the power dynamics, relationships and perceptions as experienced by actors, so that we (as a profession) may improve our institutional frameworks, and better interact and negotiate our role and value in both the social and political arena.

The study provides constructive criticism through a critical and reflective approach, and provides a voice and platform for the many archaeologists that have worked and continue to in urban archaeology through these very significant and changing times.

I hope this body of work inspires further research that could not be covered here. This study touches upon various crucial areas that archaeology needs to address. These include responsibility to our peers, other professionals of relative disciplines such as city planners, architects, and engineers, and to the public; the archaeological process which requires further collaborative efforts between the various sectors of archaeology; professional mitigation of neoliberal policies increasingly adopted worldwide; reflection on how urban archaeologists have responded to recent changes; the need for more comparative work; the need for and mobilisation of social capital; and more interdisciplinary work within the greater field of urban studies. These are only a few areas in a long line of neglected research.

The relevance in this research lies in its effort to inform critical debate to develop new

mechanisms and processes that place archaeology as a valuable part of planning and urban governance.

As summarised in UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape Initiative:

The planning and regulatory tools put in place are not always adequate to address the new challenges. Urban conservators are increasingly aware of the gap existing between the ideal world of the "Charters" and the practical realities, especially in emerging societies, and are advocating that new principles, approaches and tools have to be identified to cope with the new challenges (UNESCO, 2011).

1.8 A Guide Through

The conceptual approach presented here focuses on building links between urban studies, governance, archaeology and organisational culture, divided into 8 chapters outlined below.

Chapter One has served as an introduction to this research and contextualises the work in relation to archaeology in cities.

Chapter Two introduces and evaluates the methods and methodology used in the research, the software used, and the challenges encountered during data collection. The chapter also introduces the two case studies, describing why they were selected, and how they are appropriate cases for the research aims and questions of this study.

Chapter Three is of importance as it provides the theoretical foundations and background to cities through urban studies and geography, which I became familiar with after attending two years of Masters courses at UCL. The chapter introduces previous research on global cities, the planning of cityscapes and relationships between national and international bodies.

Chapters Four and Five are the London chapters. Chapter 4 provides a background to the London context and introduces law through both secondary resources *and* the interviews undertaken in this study. My intention is to present the historical background through those who were a part of it. While strong opinions are not included, their observations add a real and richer quality to the chapter, and an equally valid narrative to London's recent past.

The following chapter then presents the results, using quotes and qualitative tables and charts to discuss a selection of themes that emerge from the interviews. Values and discourses are identified with respect to research, roles, standards, collaborative efforts and communication amongst institutions and individuals, which also set the mood and atmosphere of the current environment. Both these chapters present the analysis from the data collected.

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Chapter Six and **Seven** are exactly the same as London, but instead framed around New York City.

Chapter Eight draws a close to the thesis by reflecting on previous discussions from all the chapters. It presents a comparative analysis of the two cities, and discusses the strengths and weaknesses within the archaeological process and archaeology heritage management. It raises the key themes introduced in this chapter and discusses them in the context of the case studies.

2 Chapter Two: Methods and Methodology

This thesis provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of data collected from in-depth semi-structured interviews and responses from a survey circulated online in London and New York City. The techniques used (methods) used and the conceptual framework (methodology) behind the design of the research are explained in this chapter.

2.1 Interdisciplinary Thoughts and Analytical Tools

The research applies the mixed method approach, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, methods, approaches and concepts within the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Creswell, 2003; Gorard & Taylor 2004; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Mixed method approaches potentially expand the scope and breadth of research and strengthen qualitative and quantitative methods by complementing one another (Driscoll et al., 2007: 19; see also Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989; Rossman & Wilson, 1991; O’Cathain 2009, Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007).

Mixed method approaches are often regarded as philosophical burdens: varying preconceptions and assumptions underpin different methods. Researchers find it hard to pin down a philosophical assumption that encompasses research using both approaches (Cherryholmes, 1992; Datta, 1994; Reichardt & Rallis, 1994; Greene & Caracelli, 1989, 1997; Creswell & Creswell, 2005). Although a ‘researcher’s theoretical orientation has implications for every decision made in the research process, including the choice of method’ (Mertens, 2005: 3-4), the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative should not be viewed as so clear-cut. Figure 9 demonstrates some of the key ontological, epistemological, and methodological differences that are perpetuated between both qualitative (through an interpretivist approach) and quantitative methods (through a positivist approach).

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APPROACH	STUDY	QUANTITATIVE	QUALITATIVE
<u>ONTOLOGY</u>	<i>Nature of the world</i>	Direct access to the real world	No direct access to real world
	<i>Reality</i>	Single external reality	No single external reality
<u>EPISTEMOLOGY</u>		Possibility to obtain hard, secure objective knowledge	Understood through 'perceived' knowledge
	<i>'Grounds' of knowledge/relationship between reality and research</i>	Research focus on generalisation and abstraction	Research focuses on the specific and concrete
		Though governed by hypotheses and stated theories	Seeking to understand specific context
<u>METHODOLOGY</u>	<i>Focus of research</i>	Concentrates on description and explanation	Concentrates on understanding and interpretation
	<i>Role of the researcher</i>	Detached, external observer	Researchers want to experience what they are studying
		Clear distinction between reason and feeling	Allow feeling and reason to govern actions
		Aim to discover external reality rather than creating the object of study	Partially create what is studied, the meaning of phenomena
		Strive to use rational, consistent, verbal, logical approach	Use of pre-understanding is important
		Seek to maintain clear distinction between facts and value judgements	Distinction between facts and value judgements less clear
		Distinction between science and personal experience	Accept influence from both science and personal experience
		Formalised statistical and mathematical methods predominant	Primarily non-quantitative

Figure 9 Differences between quantitative and qualitative methods²³

23 Taken from Carson et al, 2001: 6

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Quantitative inquiry is informed by systematic, empirical investigation and is linked to hard sciences such as physics. Techniques are primarily statistical and numerical: using methods that include manipulating variables, the use of instruments for measurement, and observing patterns for the generation of models. The underlying paradigm is that there is a single, objective reality regardless of the subjective beliefs of the researcher (for more reading, see Carson et al, 2001; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Long et al, 2000). Data is derived from logical, systematic and often mathematical models. Qualitative inquiry, on the other hand, is informed by investigating themes and describing information. As demonstrated in the table, data is analysed through interpretative techniques such as coding, and primarily is employed in the social sciences used to explain human behaviour. Approaches include ethnography, grounded theory, and phenomenology for example. Despite their separate philosophies and techniques, the social sciences are increasingly embracing methods that combine the two. In fact, there is considerable literature in support of mixed methods despite many research textbooks and journal articles recreating and perpetuating the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell, 2003; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).

As Merton and Kendall comment:

Social scientists have come to abandon the spurious choice between qualitative and quantitative data; they are concerned rather with that combination of both which makes use of the most valuable features of each. The problem becomes one of determining at which points he [sic] should adopt the one, and at which the other, approach (1946: 556-557).

Mixed methods research has been identified as a ‘key element in the improvement of social sciences’, but more importantly because it gathers data as numeric information and text information, it has a great impact and can be persuasive to policy-makers through the use of figures alongside the descriptive qualities of qualitative methods (Gorard & Taylor, 2004: 7). By using mixed methods, I want to support the break between the two approaches being mutually exclusive, and also want to strengthen the qualitative data by presenting it as complex quantitative data.

In order to accomplish this, this thesis uses social network analysis (SNA), extracting themes that can be observed through networks. SNA does not consider the *why* or the *how* in a network structure, but instead considers relational ties, social relationships and attributes within a network in a quantitative manner. Through interviews and data collected from a survey for this thesis, we can observe patterns of ties, and groups, as well as properties of a communication path. Communication paths include connections (such as homophily, closure, propinquity), distributions (such bridges, centrality, tie strengths and structural holes), and segmentation (such as cliques, social circles, clustering and cohesion). Methods relative to SNA have proven to be

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successful in ‘developing models, methods, and evidence to support the claim that the social structural contexts surrounding actors shape a variety of responses, both attitudinal and behavioural’ (Marsden & Friedkin, 1994: 19). We see this in Chapters 5 and 7 when results demonstrate attitudes and perceptions from archaeologists working in London and New York City. SNA can also help understand ‘whether systems cause certain outcomes [and] how actors interact to process resources and information’ (Wasserman & Galaskiewicz, 1994: xvi). The practical tools for SNA are deeply entrenched in mathematical and statistical analysis using software for network visualisation; R and Gephi are two of the possible open source software programmes that can be used. It was the intention of this research to provide a full network structure of the archaeological community working in each city, looking at senior/junior relationships, directionality of communication, collegiality and how information flows from data collected from individuals. However, due to the nature of the community researched, this could not be executed as the participants refused to provide information (such as work or personal relationships or contacts) required to create a network map. The few that did provide their network were too small in number to produce any valid results. Instead, the methods used provide the necessary information to understand attitudes and perceptions by adopting SNA concepts and themes and embedding them into the research design and analysis in alternative ways.

The combination of both interview and survey for data collection is designed to validate information through *triangulation* (Campbell and Fiske 1959; Singleton and Straits, 1999). **Triangulation** is used to reduce the inaccuracy of individuals’ reports. ‘Classic studies...have called into question the accuracy of individuals’ reports of their own behaviour by demonstrating that self-reported measures of social interactions match poorly with observational measures of the same interactions’ (Bernard et al. 1984; Neal, 2008: 146). Some actors report ideal interactions, or desired expectations. They also report negatively to interactions and expectations. Triangulation uses multiple measures for a single concept in hope that they provide similar results, increasing the accuracy of collected data. It can also reveal informal or alternative narratives to given events. Although results in this study may be accompanied by a quotation from a single participant, I have used these resources carefully in that it is representative of my analysis and the quotation used is pertinent to that, and not just the opinion of one participant. Consensus aggregation is used alongside Krackhardt’s *cognitive social structures* approach to triangulate (Krackhardt, 1987; Butts, 2003), but also to act as a solution to the problem of missing data. An overlap of data is expected: while any single individual is likely to make errors in his or her report of the network, it is highly unlikely that all respondents will make the same exact errors. Figure 10 illustrates the steps considered when developing this research.

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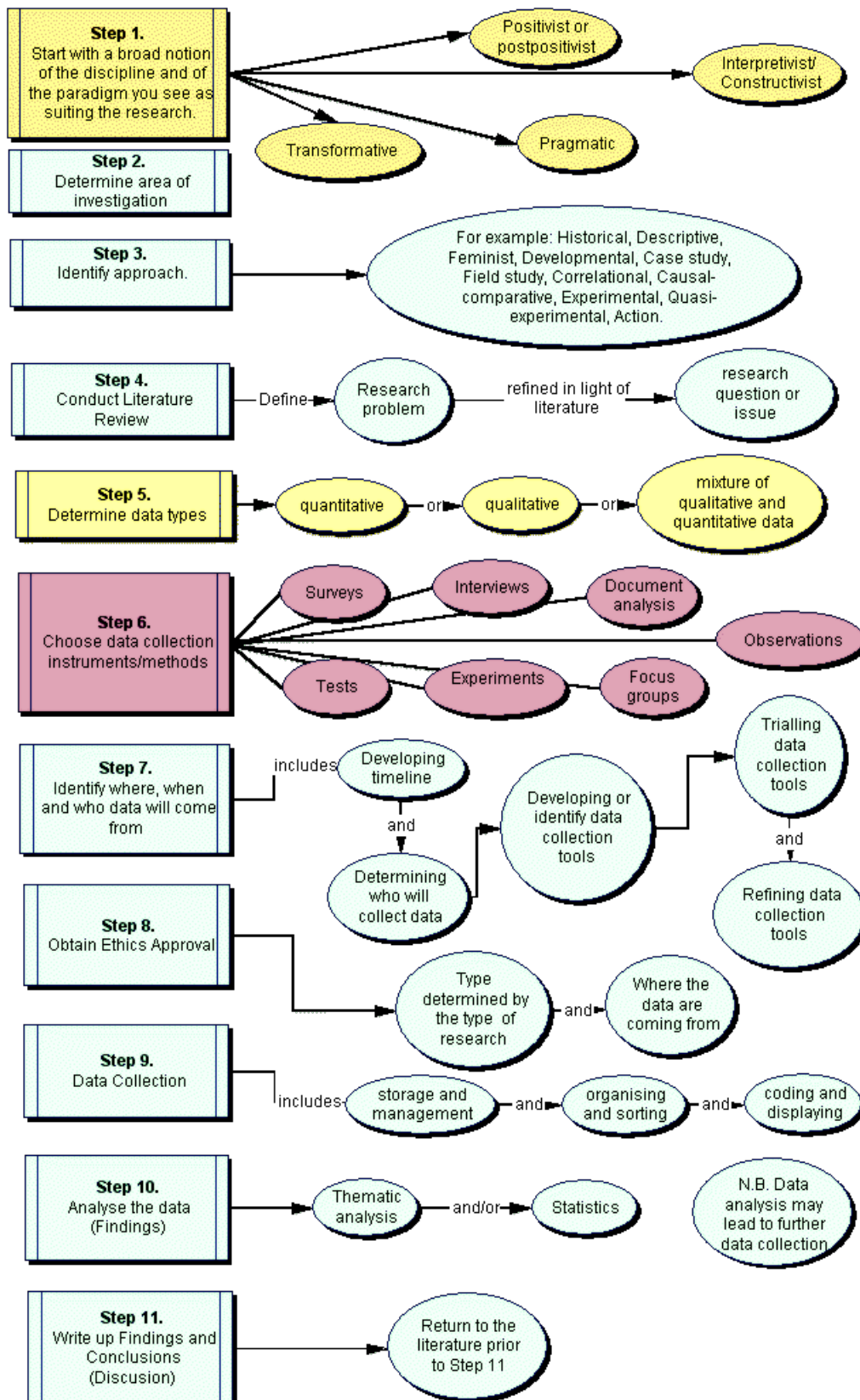


Figure 10 A step by step guide to developing research (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006)

2.2 Adopting Social Network Analysis

This section explains the theoretical framework, or paradigm, of the study. A **paradigm** is a ‘loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research’ (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998: 22). I mention this because SNA is a ‘loose connection’ in terms of how it should normally be applied, yet was the main inspiration in the methods. Networks are key in investigating the role and responsibilities of actors within a city context.

To begin with, I determined the area of investigation. The units of analysis researched are *individuals* and *organisations* involved with areas of archaeology or heritage within each city (Figure 11). I categorise the practice into sectors: the four categories are state, private, academic, or archaeological/historical societies. Museums are categorised as separate in the US (a change later added due to data analysis). The assumption that actors or groups can fall strictly into one of these groups is in itself flawed, but continues to form the basis of much discussion regarding values, standards and practises.

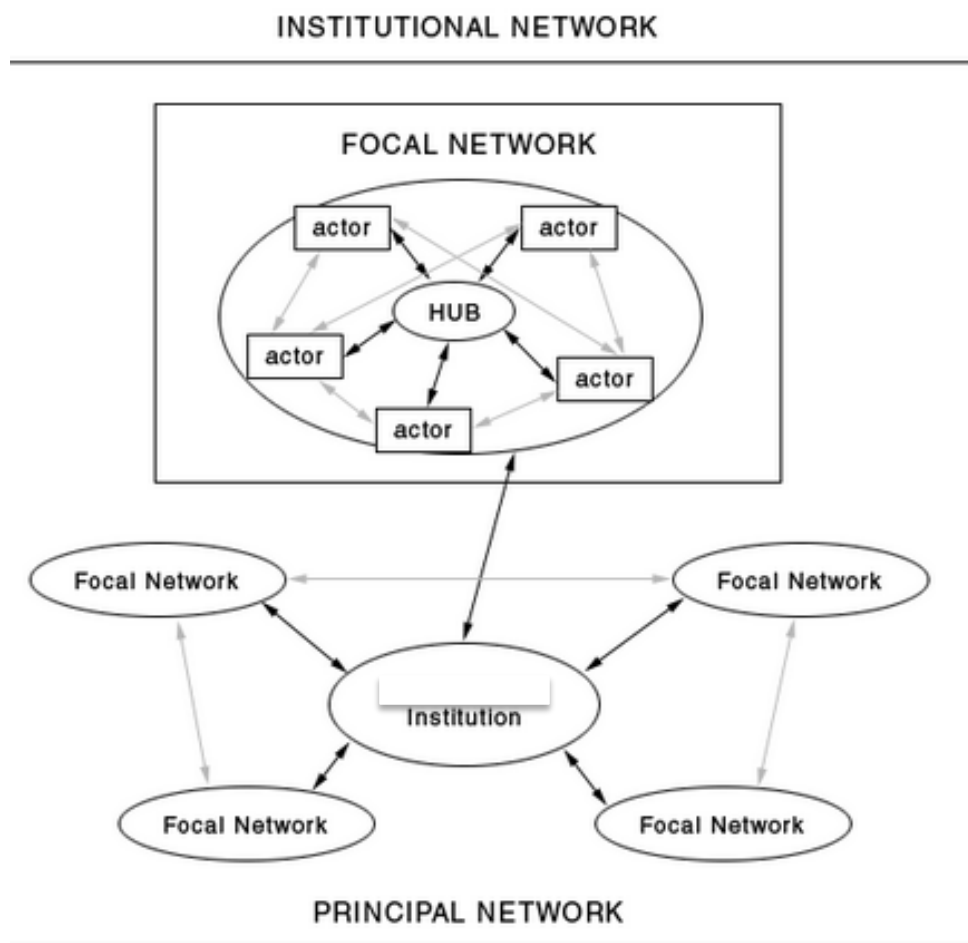


Figure 11 Individuals (actors), groups/organisations (focal network) and the archaeological community (principal Network) (Khoja, 2008)

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The study applies a qualitative approach by conducting semi-structured interviews for 115 participants, an online survey and participant observation. To ensure representation of the communities, I used sector categories – albeit loosely defined – so that the data collected is not skewed towards any particular narrative shared by any particular sector. I emphasise that actors do not necessarily represent the value-system of an entire sector or the organisation that they may work for, but are social agents that play a key role in producing, transforming and negotiating values, discourses and practices within the archaeological community.

Working within a bounded spatial region (London/NYC), I address the relationship between proximity, interaction and influence as well as the dynamics of a niche sector working under the challenges of a global city. Generally it is assumed that ‘two units operating in the same geographic area are more likely to contact each other to share local information [and] may also exchange knowledge about their local operations’ (Tsai, 2002: 184), so I look at whether this theory fits or not.

2.2.1 Understanding Networks

Some suggest SNA began with the work of Moreno in the 1930s, who developed ‘sociometry’ to conceptualise small group structures, looking at patterns of friendship and other information interactions (Moreno, 1953) which later expanded to study group dynamics (Bevalas, 1948; Festinger, 1949). Social network analysis is born from the need to describe empirical phenomena motivated mainly by social theory through specialised technical methods. It investigates **relational ties** - with theories, models and applications - among social actors through observed attributes of autonomous individuals (such as work **links**, **betweenness**, **influencers**, **information flow** and trust) and in turn can provide a key understanding to structural and relational processes that are played out within and between organisations. In the past, the methodology has been used to study ‘kinship structure, social mobility, science citations, contacts among members of deviant groups, corporate power, international trade exploitation, class structure, and many other areas’ (Scott, 1988: 109). It also provides the opportunity to explore the idea of either individuals, groups or institutions being portrayed as ‘victims’ of the networks’ that operate within or around them (Wasserman & Galaskiewicz, 1994: xiv). For example, it explores whether individuals are victims of larger social structures, or vice versa, and addresses the concept of ‘change’ and whether it can be brought about by exploiting structural conditions through strategically, or perhaps unwittingly, using networks to further one’s own interests, which in turn changes the network itself. How and whom brings this change to social order is part of understanding the historical development of archaeological practice and heritage management.

It is different from Actor-network theory (ANT) in that ANT focuses on relations between actors and techniques, or influencing factors that are related or connected to how one acts, and does not

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necessarily focus on organisations. Although there are some overlaps with SNA in that they both focus on networks and relations of some sort, I use SNA as the dominant methodology because of its investigation of *relational ties* mentioned above.

To continue, a *network* is generally explained through the characteristics of a material fabric: individuals interweave and are intertwined, bound together into one social fabric through their interactions. Interaction and communication between individuals or groups involve a series of complex behaviours. By analysing individual **linkages** and attributes as well as interpreting relationships, we can develop a critical tool for highlighting and addressing issues, traits and practices in archaeology. There are a lot of mechanisms at play, which can be complex, but these mechanisms originate and are reinforced by individual actors and larger structures, such as groups, organisations or institutions (Kooiman, 1993; Kichert et al., 1997).

Through understanding discourses – that is, institutionalised and politicised ways of thinking intrinsically linked with the exercising of power relationships – we can learn about the *uniformity* of the archaeology profession. Uniformity addresses the degree of common overall objectives, processes, standards and values. Uniform role expectations, for example, can govern behaviour through code of training, which is tied to elucidating social influence and structural effects on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals. Most professions promote these expectations, set out in rules and standards supported by professional bodies. Interpersonal influences may also contribute to uniformity. Individuals of a given social position or environmental niche may also have similar attitudes or behaviours, and respond similarly in particular situations (Marsden & Friedkin, 1994).

In archaeology, individuals connected by a social or professional network provide plausible ground for any behavioural or attitudinal homogeneity observed. For example, homogeneity is linked with processes of social or professional exclusion, through the exercise of power mechanisms, which intentionally or unintentionally reproduces discourses (Foucault, 1982). Common circles and joint membership have a level of homogeneity, where actors are in agreement on certain issues whether direct contact is present or not (Friedkin, 1984). There is generally a relationship between similar political mindedness and working within the same industry (seen as an indicator of structural equivalence), marking a relationship between activity and perceptions in groups (Festinger, Schacter & Back, 1950; Boster, Johnson & Weller, 1987; Romney & Wellwer, 1984; Mizruchi, 1989, 1990). Reactions, for example, to particular heritage-related policies from practitioners tend to be similar.²⁴ The same applies to relationships between sectors or organisations, where a sort of sub-culture or identity is created between one and is

24 Although I did request the political spectrum of the participants, I did not collect enough data for it to provide a valid analysis.

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reinforced through the exclusion of other sectors or groups. As mentioned earlier, this is seen between the private, public and academic sectors of archaeology.

Investigating groups allows us to explore how identifying with and allegiance to group discourses create social identities (Brown, 1996), and how they are formed. We can look at what factors drive actors to interact and operate with one another, creating their own social relations. Factors may be emotive or personal, such as individual contacts, generation-based value-systems, or professional (such as speciality, or working within particular sectors). Various characters, personalities and connections are developed and either work with or against sustaining social relations, which in turn constitutes the relations of social structures. These concepts feed into the central questions of this study.

Recent research demonstrates the full spectrum of what the analysis of networks can offer. Below is a review of studies that have researched different areas of social networks, demonstrating the range of relations, structures and themes that can be observed. As there is very little crossover within SNA that addresses archaeological ethnography,²⁵ this section provides an overview of the conceptual frameworks and methods adopted and used in the design of this study. What follows below highlights the concepts which are transferable.

Tajfel (1978) looks at distinctions between intergroup and interpersonal behaviours. The former considers the interactions determined by the membership of various groups and relations between them; while the latter is more decided by the individuals, personal characteristic and interpersonal relationships (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Brown and Turner, 1981; Brown, 1996). Neither purely interpersonal nor purely intergroup behaviour is likely to be found in a real social situation, but what the social identity theory states is that behaviour is driven by a compromise between the two. The theory explains group behaviour through an individual's *self-concept*, or social identity: individuals are motivated to achieve distinctiveness. This distinctiveness may be personally motivated, or for the group, depending on social, political, economic and cultural circumstances. For example, where groups have higher mobility potential, individuals may pursue individual goals and disassociate themselves from the group; where status relations are reasonably stable, they may engage in more social creativity behaviours on a group level where self-image is enhanced through the status of the group. The theory also introduces favouritism, whereby an individual psychologically identifies more with another individual, and as such may express this through favours or other positive behaviours. It explores how actors can heavily determine the role and direction of archaeology through the exertion of individual attributes. Critical thoughts to the theory suggest that it ignores individualism, interdependences, self-esteem

25 Network Analysis has been used alongside GIS for research concerning distribution of artefacts, sites, and so on, and to map social interactions/family lines from past lineages. The work that was found was still in preliminary stages during time of writing.

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and context. However it is a useful, simple concept that is observed in in-group dynamics.

Personal relationships play a large part in how the discipline is shaped within the context it is working in. Intra-group and inter-group relationships are strongly dictated by personal attributes of individuals. Awareness of individual needs, motives and personalities – and the interplay of actors in networks – in fact is a critical aspect of large networks achieving particular goals, tasks and aims (Bales, 1950). Group dynamics, personal interests and motivational favours are important elements that build the community environment. Career progression, job security and standard of living, professional support, and role in society are also similarly linked to building networks and establishing relationships.

Individuals contribute to the maintenance and channelling of information and resource flow that permits the structure to sustain itself, while at the same time, the already existing structure provides them with opportunities or constraints (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Capturing experiences and perspectives through oral history is invaluable for the **lesson-drawing** required to renegotiate our roles and responsibilities within society. Using the data collected, later chapters discuss how actors have responded to changes on a personal level, and their reactions to seeing shifts in the roles and responsibilities of archaeologists. It also connects actors with groups and organisations through their direct or indirect involvement. The network, or connectivity, present among actors elucidates the substantive processes setting the course archaeology is taking. Understanding individual action in the context of structured relationships, studying the structures directly in terms of linkages among units, and looking at the regularities and patterns of these interactions, we reveal the structures that we are seeking to understand (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

The need for and provision of support is another key asset required for creating a cohesive and strong community. Studies turn to how the context of network, and the well-being of social relationships, rely on actors maintaining relationships with a wide variety of individuals to ensure provision of all types of needed support (Barrera & Ainlay, 1983; Dean & Lin, 1977; Walker, Wasserman & Wellman, 1994). Support is seen as a ‘complex flow of resources among a wide range of individuals’ (Walker et al., 1994: 54) in which the actors’ power, influence and access to resources affect their supportiveness in networks. In regards to support, Riley & Eckenrode (1986) found that larger networks provide more support but also lead to more interpersonal problems, and other research found that the quality and not quantity of support provided was related to greater well-being (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987; Israel & Antonucci, 1987). Different kinds of relationships provide different kinds of support systems; some could be emotional, material, informative, or companionship-based (Barrera & Ainlay, 1983; Cutrona & Russell, 1990; Wellman & Wortley, 1989, 1990). Support also plays a part in career progression, and whether an actor feels that their professional pursuits are encouraged and given motivation through training or other useful opportunities. Actors under the impression that they are not

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supported or encouraged by their work organisations are important agents in terms of the larger structure's efficiency in career progression and skill maintenance. In particular, it affects the strength of social capital. Krebs (2000), in his article '*Working in the Connected World*,' links the function of human resources with the ability to establish and sustain social capital (Figure 12).

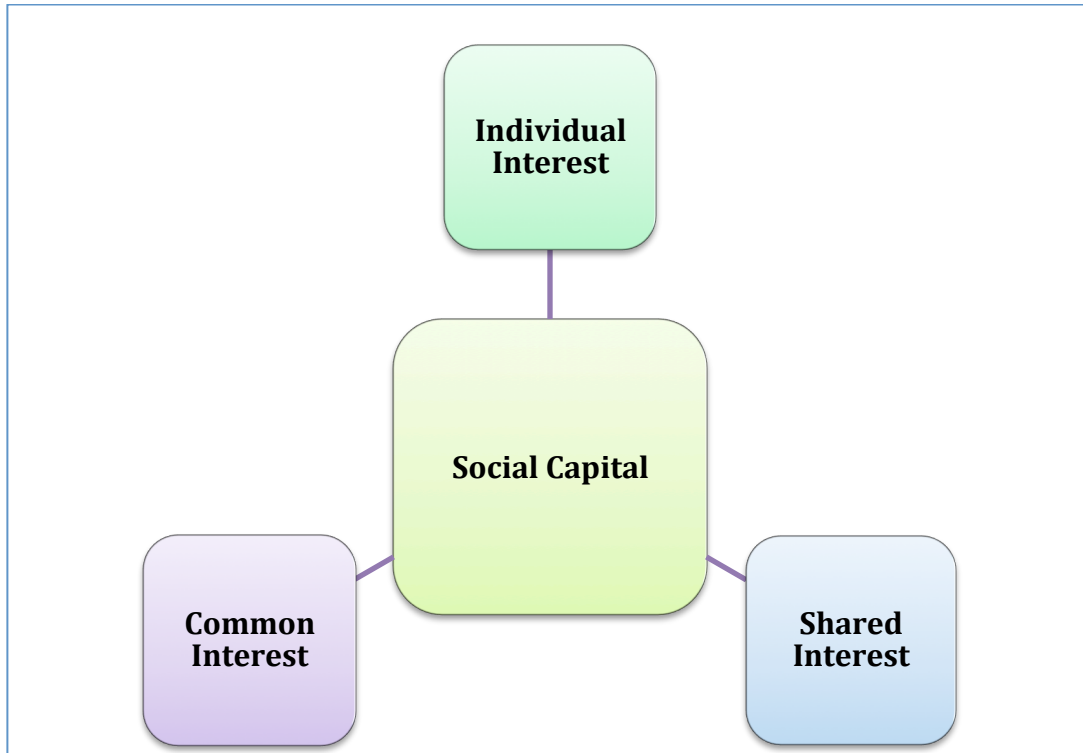


Figure 12 Network of relationships and establishing social capital

The combination of skills, knowledge and experience of all individuals, within and external to their organisation, is what 'communities of practice, knowledge exchanges, information flows, interest groups, social networks and other emergent connections between employees, suppliers, regulations, partners and customers' requires (Krebs, 2000: 89). Organisational management is increasingly focusing on how social capital and a supportive environment provide one of the most important assets for establishing an upper and advantageous position for any organisation. Ronald Burt (2010), for example, indicates that managing an organisation's social capital will become one of the core competencies in knowledge-based organisations. He also cites research on how social capital affects recruitment, retention, performance, compensation and creativity in the work environment for both individuals and organisations. In fact, human resources now focus on what traits are featured in a successful social capital based network, and SNA has become increasingly useful for investigating the various attributes necessary in actor or group relationships. For example, studies test the effect of removing nodes (i.e. specific individuals/organisations) and links between nodes to highlight different kinds of connectivity,

such as **bonding**, **bridging** or **betweenness**. Bonding denotes connections in a tightly knit group, and indicates a sense of trusted community where interactions are familiar and efficient. Bridging denotes connections to other groups or communities, and indicates access to new resources and opportunity for innovation and profit (Burt, 2005). Actors can be bridgers, and can be identified by managers to allow them, for example, to strategically position individuals within a professional unit ensuring flows of information and communication (Valente et al., 2010). They may also explore the benefits or disadvantages between strong **ties** versus more ties (Opsahl et al., 2010) or whether structural conditions affect the characteristics of personal networks (Fischer, 1982; Marsden, 1990).

2.2.2 *Networks, Power and Social Capital*

While investigating networks can highlight the role and responsibilities of particular actors, it can also address a much deeper aspect, such as power dynamics, and levels of **social capital**. Interactions detect how close a group is, but also levels of trust, cooperation and authority. ‘Individual success in organisations is quite frequently a matter of working with and through other people’ (Pfeiffer, 1992: 17), while organisational success relates to coordination of activities. Coordinating different actors to share their knowledge or information enhances capabilities in the organisation or network (Kogut & Zander, 1996). It can be done through a formal hierarchal structure or informal lateral relations (Van de Ven et al., 1976; Ghoshal et al., 1994). The concept behind increasing and promoting the flow of communication is based on mutual benefits. New knowledge can be built on existing knowledge through the sharing of resources. Setbacks to this insight are conditions of competitive private benefits versus incentives for common benefits (Khanna et al., 1998). However ‘simultaneous cooperation and competition may stimulate greater knowledge sharing, technological progress, and market expansion’ (Lado et al., 1997: 123), and can also allow actors to better deal with similar constraints, challenges and situations. Tsai (2002: 180) calls this **coopetition**, stating that:

Coopetition refers to simultaneously cooperative and competitive behaviour...[where] the cooperative aspect...refers to the collective use of shared knowledge to pursue common interests...[and]...the competitive aspect...to make private gains in an attempt to out-perform the partners.

Competition aside, the idea of cooperation and trust is encompassed by the concept of *social capital*. Theoretical modifications of capital introduced concepts such as ‘human capital’, ‘cultural capital’, and ‘social capital’. While some schools suggest that social capital is another way of maintaining and reproducing the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1986: an extension of Marxian capital), others stress social capital as a public good (Coleman, 1990: an Durkheimian view of social relations) dependent on good will and other structural features (i.e. trust, authority, norms, etc.). Generically, they all have some relation to control of investment and expected return: social

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capital's premise is 'investment in social relations with expected returns' (Lin, 1999: 30). People, in fact, engage in social interactions and network so that they can obtain some sort of benefits which are profitable. Lin (1999: 28) argues that 'the fundamental understanding [of] social capital is captured from embedded resources in social networks'. How this enhances the outcomes of actions are fourfold: it facilitates the flow of information; it may exert influence on agents; it provides social credentials (social reputation); and it reinforces identity and recognition of one's worthiness, views, and interests which provides entitlement to resources as well as support. These benefits are either gained by individuals or by a group. In whichever instance, the maintenance and reproduction of social capital is achieved by interacting members. Individuals who 'access and use resources embedded in social networks gain returns in instrumental actions (e.g. finding better jobs) or preserve gains in expressive actions' (Lin, 1999: 32), while also bringing benefits to the collective.

Networking and creating social capital are actually quite time-consuming endeavours. Both are starting to be a work obligation in many organisations, where employees need to engage with the professional and larger community. Many individuals of different professions are starting to feel the constant pressure to network and engage with others (Taylor and Pancer, 2007) as the awareness that opportunities lie more in who you know and what you know grows. Again, these concepts are intricately linked with actor and structure relationships, personalities, and power dynamics. Other studies, such as Treadway et al. (2010), illustrate how different levels of social effectiveness, such as political skill, are immensely important in predicting the degree of networking activity of an actor, and explore how future perspectives on career are tied to community-based networking. They also observe that goal orientations and career progression, as well as age, are determinants of improved job performance and network motivation. So if archaeology is to keep high-skilled and dedicated practitioners in the field, for example, the structure and processes of archaeology need to establish increased security, trust, support and visible career progression, to name a few points.

The success stories in relation to effective networks are associated strongly with power balances and imbalances. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the study explores power balances through attributes visible in actors and embedded within structures. Schaefer (2011) discusses how power imbalances are expected to develop when either exclusion or ordering (where an individual *must* exchange with one particular individual in order to facilitate or be able to exchange with another) consistently advantage one actor over another. The consistency, or frequency, is one of the variables that determine the level of the power dynamics. Individuals, for example, with more information and access to resources are likely to have more power than others (Pettigrew, 1972; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1977). It also creates a relationship of interdependencies, where actors have the 'incentives to work together, forge common goals, and coordinate their

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activities' (Pfeffer, 1992: 38). Mizruchi and Galaskiewicz (1994) discuss interdependencies in terms of resource dependency theory. Organisations depend on resources from one another, and reinforce power dynamics that are relational, situational and potentially mutual. This dependency can also be witnessed in organisations that form collaborations, interlocks, joint ventures and other alliances to improve their own autonomy and legitimacy.

All these network concepts contribute to the behaviour of actors and organisations, and to the strategic and tactical management of any organisation, including the actors making up the organisation. One of the main aspects that provides the basis of power, in which networks play a crucial role, is the procurement of resources in the structural environment (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Boyd, 1990; Hayward & Boeker, 1998). Scarcity of resources (resources could also come in the form of support) can disrupt performance through an imbalance in power dynamics, communication and social capital through increased competition. Organisational studies suggest that practices supported by social, economic and political factors provide organisations with advantages that lead to more efficient performance (Martisons, 1998; 2008). Firms and organisations in different environments react differently to similar challenges (Knetter, 1989) and so in an environment where there are deficiencies in support from institutional bodies, relationship-based and personal connections (such as networking), informal information and blurry relationships with government bodies, we see how these similarities (and external factors) prevail above loose or unenforceable sets of rules (Figure 13).

Through observing these areas, we can investigate what embedded and more resilient aspect of social structures – such as rules, guidelines, norms, practices and schemes – become established as authoritative guidelines for archaeology's processes within a city (Scott, 2004), but we can also understand how archaeology has survived through the changing political and economic environment by highlighting how it has conformed to rules and belief systems – both structural and procedural – in order to gain professional legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Suchman, 1995; Dacin, 1997). Based on how organisations position themselves and renegotiate their roles and responsibilities, they can move towards becoming a part of decision-making, and impact the social construction of policy through their networking (Knoke, 1994). These dynamics and processes can be further understood by work that has looked at the relationship between policy networks and bargaining behaviour, which emphasise the importance of the social relations through which policies are implemented (Friend et al., 1974; Rhodes, 1981). Policy networks have power on institutional relations, and there is a growing consensus that policy-making processes and the interplay among various actors is now a key driver of governance and public management (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1996). The following chapter looks at areas of governance and government, policy-making and other conceptualisation of governance in regards to cities.

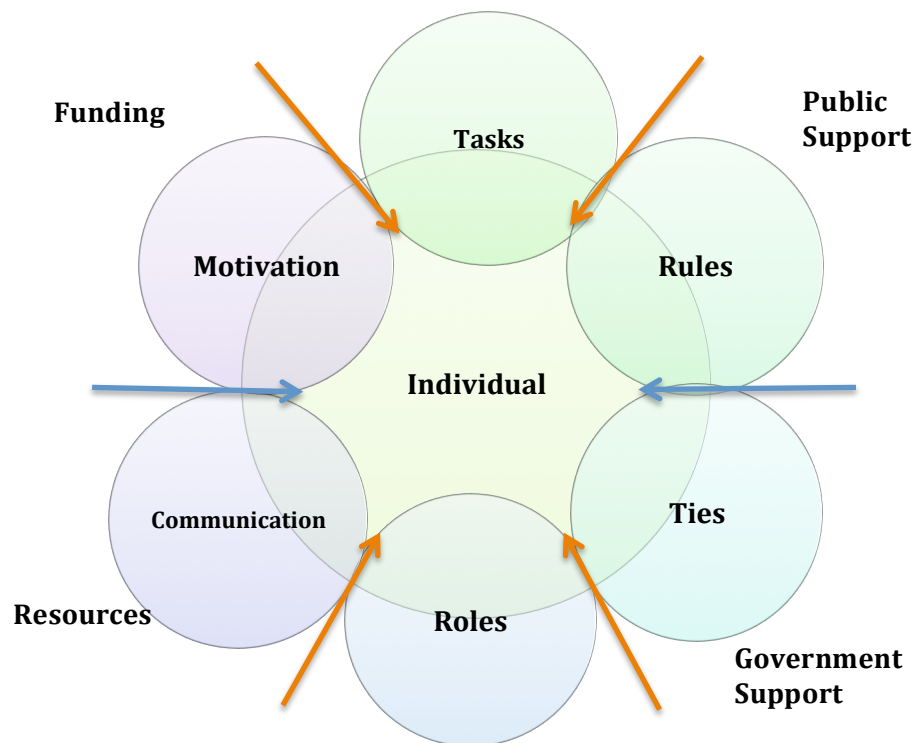


Figure 13 Individual attributes/linkages restricted by the archaeology network, which in turn is limited by external factors

I have discussed how networks by actors and organisations influence the overall structure of the profession, highlighting various attributes that determine how we can understand the channels, linkages and context in which the practice functions. The central concepts that network theory offer - in regards to management, strategic interaction processes, levels of institutional and personal relations, power dynamics and governance – allow us to generate techniques, taking interdependencies of public and private actors into account. It can also provide perspectives on the role and responsibilities of actors and institutions.

2.3 Case Study Selection

This section provides a brief introduction to the two case studies – London (LDN) and New York City (NYC). Chapter 3 will introduce the contemporary theories about the **global city**, urban politics and issues with governance, which is used as a backdrop to contextualise the case studies within a larger structure. Large cities share common features (discussed in Chapter 3), which can be described as an **urban culture** (Section 3.2.1). As mentioned earlier, as a researcher I spent

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time in many large cities,²⁶ including London and NYC. In terms of archaeology, in each city I have worked in, I observed similar approaches to communication, sharing information and collaboration within the archaeological community. The question that emerged was whether this had something to do with archaeologists, or whether it is the nature of working within large cities. Global cities are generally home and headquarter to concentrations of political, economic and social power, and they become nodes in the global network. These global cities also frequently tend to be capital cities of a nation. They harbour an array of institutional and structural infrastructure. These work to deliver governance, participation and organisations of various sectors, and evolve and develop alongside international trends and developments. Regardless of ongoing power struggles between centralised and more decentralised systems of governance, global cities retain their prominent position. In order to understand how archaeology as a profession in these particular places interacts with these trends and developments (or global forces), we need to conduct a comparative study between archaeology in cities where it occupies similar niches within a hierarchy of the capital city (Noyelle & Standback, 1983; Allen & Massey, 1988; Fainstein & Harloe, 1992). In both London and NYC, archaeology falls under the planning system, for example.

Both London and NYC have been historically recognised as global nodes based on rapid expansion in population, development, services and industries (Sassen, 2001; GaWC, 1999; Foreign Policy, 2008, 2010, 2012). They are official test-beds and exemplars of policies and structures for other booming cities around the world. Policies are first tried out in global cities to test their success or failure and then adopted elsewhere, because they offer the opportunity to observe exaggerated and strong concentrated responses locally, nationally and internationally.

While London and NYC are leading cities of the world, they nevertheless continue to struggle with common challenges faced by large cities, such as uneven impacts of growth, institutional restructurings, impacts on the **urban fabric** such as traffic, gentrification, poverty, pollution, urban sprawl and other aspects of development. Despite fluctuations in the hierarchical global city status, these two cities continue to dominate and maintain their reputation as the top two global cities of the world (Sassen, 2001; Zukin, 1992).

Also, the two cities have both embraced neoliberal policies. Both cities were heavily impacted by the deregulatory, economic policies of neoliberalism discernible by the mid-1970s but formalised into government policy by the 1980s. Prior to this, they both experienced the huge impact of development which overwhelmed the local community in each city. Central to this study, both London and NYC experienced a backlash from the public in regards to historic protection and preservation, and later experienced similar trajectories in regards to the professionalisation of **archaeology** and **historic preservation**, and its association with planning (see Chapters 4 and 6).

26 I have lived (and in some cases worked) in Riyadh, Paris, Rome, Istanbul, London, New York City and Los Angeles.

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Both London and New York are obvious candidates for comparative study (Fainstein & Harloe, 1992: 1). They resemble each other in economic and political forces, enabling us to explore how these forces produce observable social outcomes, differences in national traditions and culture, as well as public policies. More importantly there is a clear relationship in how economic and political forces shape spatial form and social structure (see Chapter 3). Both case studies have changed dramatically through the internationalisation, deregulation and privatisation of capital as well as through the rise of technologies. They play traditional dominant roles in their national systems, while acting within a global city structure as key nodes, often considered *city-states* in that they relate more to the global network than to the country they belong to (although they do still act as internal nodes for connectivity, exchange, creativity and change). London and NYC are both:

...the capital of culture and information production in their respective countries; they are magnets for world tourism; they contain the principal settlements of recent immigrants; they continue to be major manufacturing centres, cores for wholesale and retail distribution, and ports for air and sea traffic, even while these functions continue to decline relatively or absolutely. Their metropolitan areas remain the largest in population in their respective nations, and thus they also comprise the largest markets for consumer products...(Fainstein, & Harloe, 1992: 2)

Brenner and Schmid (2011: 13) suggest ‘a new conceptual lexicon must be created for identifying the wide variety of urbanisation processes that are currently reshaping the urban world, and, relatedly, for deciphering the new emergent landscapes of socio-spatial difference that have been crystallising in recent decades’. Because cities are changing so rapidly, research becomes outdated much faster than before. During the undertaking of this research for example, London introduced a completely new planning framework, and New York City set up a repository. There is an increasing and constant need to keep informed about how the on-going cultural, political, technological and ecological changes impact particular places and professions, and how these impacts are shaped or limited by global forces (see Figure 14). It is the interaction between these changes that lead to the reshaping of the urban fabric. This appreciation of how politics and economics reshape our cities, and how they shape the attitudes (and consequently development) of archaeologists, is the thread that strings this study together.

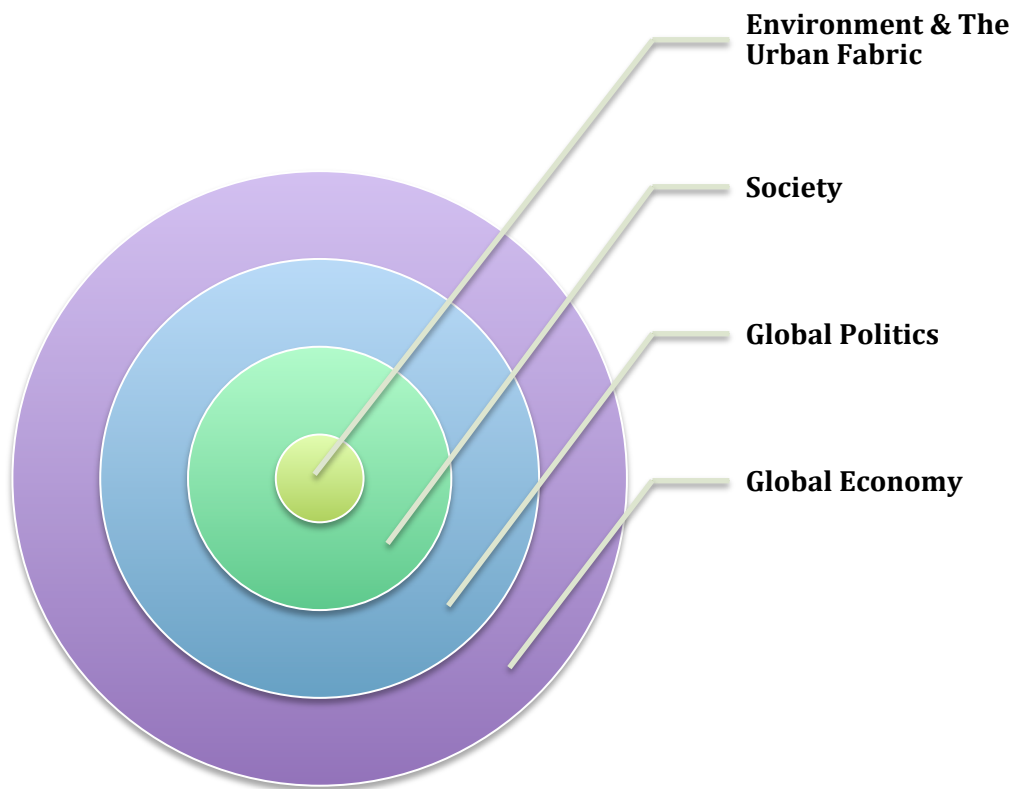


Figure 14 The relationship between the environment, society, politics & global economy - all three are constrained by the limits of the global economy

The study therefore explores ‘the nature of the contemporary conditions unfolding before us, upon which to base predictions and proposals for shaping futures’ (Healey et al., 1995: 6) in the profession of archaeology.

2.3.1 The Archaeological Record

The archaeological record of both cities was not considered during the selection of each city, as the primary aim of the research is to explore how policy impacts the profession through individual perceptions. However, although little reflection is afforded to the archaeological record throughout the study, it is worth highlighting that the differences between the two cities will ultimately manifest itself in the organisational landscape.²⁷

²⁷ For further reading: In 2013, I led a forum in *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 23(1) titled ‘The Challenges and Opportunities for Mega-Infrastructure Projects and Archaeology’ which explored similarities and differences in urban archaeology. Contributors from the US, Mexico, Australia, Turkey, Bermuda and the UK discussed the management of archaeological sites within an urban context.

The archaeology of London is both well-recognised and established, and enjoys a prominent position in the tourism industry, unlike NYC. The Heritage Lottery Fund published a report in 2013, which concluded that heritage tourism generates £26.4bm towards the UK economy (Beyrouthy & Tessler, 2013). London is a key city in this contribution as four out of five tourists claim their main reason of visit is for the historic and cultural assets.²⁸ It is also one of the few cities to have four separate UNESCO World Heritage sites. While rich in cultural and natural assets, London also has ‘2000 years of easily measurable archaeological periods’, a ‘tremendously complicated archaeology with lots of periods of settlement and demolition’ (pers. comm. White, 2015).²⁹ In this situation, it is difficult – if not impossible – for a two person team, for example, to conduct excavations in central London. However, in NYC, we see a lot of two person teams excavate famous sites. This may be due to their archaeology not being as stratified and also being less complex.

2.4 Research Design Using Network Theories

This section introduces the sampling strategy and how participants were selected; how they are referenced in the text; how to find those references in Appendix 5; and the design for the interview and the survey. There are also tables to facilitate matching how the questions used were developed as indicators for particular attributes and relationships (Figure 17 and Figure 18). The section starts with the selection of the participants, and then explains the interview design followed by the survey.

2.4.1 *Sampling Strategy: Choosing the Participants*

The two case studies are used to understand what is required for archaeology to function in urban contexts. In each city, invitations were sent out via email for individuals to participate in a semi-structured interview, and a survey was circulated electronically using Facebook, Twitter and through membership lists from some organisations. Individuals selected for interview were identified through prior research. This prior research involved mapping actors through their direct involvement with archaeology in each city, or through their role within organisations marked as relevant to the research. Further interviews were arranged through suggested references offered by participants during the interviews. Interview participants were also emailed with the request that they assist circulating the online survey.

28 London & Partners, 2015. ‘London attractions see 7.11% increase in visitor numbers in 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.londonandpartners.com/media-centre/press-releases/2015/150313-london-attractions-see-711-increase-in-visitor-numbers-in-2014>

29 Steve White is a senior archaeologist who recently moved to ASE from MOLA, England.

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The study welcomed responses from any individual involved in the practice of archaeology in either city. The intention of the study was to include a wide range of actors from the various sectors of archaeology, which include academia, private, government, museum and local societies. Figure 15 below illustrates how different organisations were categorised.

Appendix 3 provides the list of participants from each city, with how they have been categorised. Because participation was voluntary, the sample selection does not reflect the proportion of each sector within the universe. In London, only 60% of those invited accepted the invitation requesting an interview, while in the US 86% accepted. A list is not provided of those who declined (for ethical reasons), however even the invitation process provided relevant insight on who it reached, how it reached them, and who is excluded from this sharing network.

Academia	Private	Local/National Society	State/Government	Other³⁰
University departments	Consultants	National Heritage Agencies	Local government curators	Researchers
Research groups affiliated with academia	Contractors	Professional Bodies	Local government	Retired
	Specialists		National Museums	Museum

Figure 15 The categorisation of organisations into sectors for this research

Participants were categorised according to the sector that they work in: this could be government, private, academic, local society, or other, which may include museums or retired participants for example. Figure 16 below illustrates the size of the sample in relation to the number of archaeologists working in each city.

City	Estimated Number of Archaeologists³¹	Number of Interviews Conducted	Number of Surveys Collected
Greater London	1,010	55	64
New York City	143	59	6

Figure 16 Estimation of archaeologists working in each case study/city

As we can see, the sample size is a significantly small percentage of the total number of archaeologists working in the city. It is, however, a fair representation of most of the actors that are known as key players in the city. Most participants have played significant or leading roles in

³⁰ This section depends on the individual. There are some instances where retired participants or museum employees fall under other specific sectors. See Appendix 3 for all categorisations.

³¹ Estimated number of archaeologists according to Aitchison & Rock-Macqueen (2013): 92; as for NYC, this estimation should be taken very lightly as it is those registered in all of NY under the RPA. It does not appear, for example, to include academics.

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the development of each city and include directors of important bodies and institutions, or reputable specialists, academics and contractors. The survey was circulated to reach out to as much of the population as possible, however this method was not successful due to poor participation and should be considered further for future research. Section 2.8 details the demography of participants further.

2.4.2 Case studies and Non-Random Participant Selection

The case studies were selected to try to provide two cases that were as similar as possible. At the same time, because the study aims to be useful for cities that are facing drastic changes through global forces, in future research it is worth considering global cities– such as Shanghai – that have different socio-political approaches and structures in place for archaeology and heritage, yet deal with similar external forces.

In addition, participants were non-random: I relied on a network that may have excluded various individuals, groups, and clusters from the study. For example, many archaeology and historical societies were not approached simply because the network of urban practitioners saw them merely as enthusiasts rather than archaeologists. Efforts to counter this exclusion via the online survey failed as most societies have elder members who are not (a) internet-savvy or (b) part of the email network group whereby they would receive the invitation.

In addition, social cognitive mapping (whereby participants refer others) is a laborious method which is logistically complex as well as time consuming. Respondents providing detailed information about social relations may not have been followed through as decisions for further exploration were decided based on their relevancy towards the study.

Some questions also were more or less relevant to particular sectors, which revealed an unawareness by some sectors about the questions being asked. This can be seen in the spreadsheet. For example, academics or archaeological societies felt unable to discuss issues of standards or the monitoring of excavation processes.

2.4.3 Representing Participants in the Text

The full transcripts or notes are available in Appendix 5 as a CD: each document has the approval of the participant. Where full permission is declined, an edited version is provided. While some of the withdrawn information has been used throughout this thesis, any link to identify the participant has been removed. This process highlighted the sensitivity of how participants relate to their community and environment; while it did lead to complications in terms of referencing data, it revealed a hint of the difficult and political context in which participants work.

Each transcript is divided into small sections using a numbering system. If a transcript is

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referenced in the text, it appears as (pers. comm., Surname, Year: No. of Section). The reader can then find which city the participant is identified with by going to Appendix 3 (listed alphabetically by surname) and then opening the relevant city folder in Appendix 5 and clicking on their name as all transcripts are within a single PDF document for each city. Appendix 3 also provides the participant's affiliation, the location of the interview and the duration of the interview.

The reader will also note that on occasion the reference is (pers. comm., anon., year of interview): this is because interviewees edited their interviews quite late in the research, but it also indicates what comments individuals prefer to not have on record, which illustrates what they perceive as sensitive. Some comments, for example, are neither political nor risky, and so it is interesting to note they would rather not be identified with such comments or views.

2.4.4 Interviews

The units of analysis for the interviews are individuals who are either representative of (a) themselves as independent practitioners, (b) a particular sector when applicable, or (c) an organisation.

Each participant was emailed an information sheet and consent form (Appendix 1), inviting them to talk about their views and experiences in archaeology. The participant determined time and place, as well as duration, although I did request an hour of their time. Some interviews lasted a mere 30 minutes but those are rare and few; many are just above an hour while others are over 3 hours. Location also varied, from café or park to quiet offices or homes. I asked permission to record the conversation using the software on my smartphone: they were assured that prior to any use of their information that may identify them, they would first be allowed to edit it.

In each interview, I sought to create a comfortable environment, and allowed the participant to talk freely without much interruption. Figure 17 provides a summary of some key questions that were asked during interviews. It includes the indices and purpose of each question.

Questions	Indices	Purpose
How did you get into archaeology?	Identifying Networks; Structural Equivalence	Voluntary Public Programmes vs. Personal Interest Career Progression Personal/Professional Relationships Strength Ties/Key Players Change of Community Over Time

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Do you think there are formal channels to communicate? Or are they informal?	Cohesion; Hubs; Clusters;	Is resource flow personal? Professional? What are clusters based on? Are channels effective?
Is the archaeology community fragmented?	Isolation groups; Uniformity	Decision-making opportunities Involvement vs. Exclusion Roles; Communication; Horizons of Observation
Is archaeology more competitive or collaborative?	Social Capital; Clusters	The level of sharing Impact of competition Identifying In-groups and Out-groups
What is your view on the dynamic between different sectors	Bridgers; Roles;	Do some sectors have more powerful roles and responsibilities? Perceptions vs. practises Actors bridging actors
What are your views on Actors x, y, z ³²	Status; Rank; Reputation; Power dynamics	How are institutional bodies perceived? Is there a relationship between perception and sector of respondent? Does institutional culture impact perception?
Identify influential actors	Prestige	Exploring attributes of social power What traits make actors recognised? Identifying generational gaps
Is your network more personal-based or through professional environments?	Linkages; Trust; Social Capital	Cliques: How do newcomers network? Personal relationships in professional environments Strength-ties: reciprocity, favours, personalities
What are the main challenges archaeology faces in your city?	Inclusion; Involvement; Empowerment; Roles	Inclusion; Involvement Who should do what? Responsibilities and Roles of Sectors

Figure 17 Main questions of semi-structured interview

32 Recognised national, professional, or public bodies involved in each city.
London includes IfA, CBA, EH, LAMAS. NYC includes Landmarks, PANYC, SHPO

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2.4.5 Surveys

The survey was designed to complement the interview through asking similar questions and involving individuals that could not be involved in the in-depth interviewing process.

The circulation of interview requests and the online survey offer insight towards the level of network cohesion within the archaeological community, addressing, for example, asymmetries in network ties that may reflect discrepancies in information flow, social power and influence (see Marsden & Friedkin, 1994: 21).

The table below (Figure 18) is a general presentation of questions asked, which were adapted to fit the nuances of each city (see Appendix 2 for interview and survey questions).

All of the data collected from the survey for both London and NYC are available in Appendix 4. This appendix also provides the full graphs (percentages and frequencies) that are used later on in the chapters presented the results (5 and 7) and should be referred to should the reader wish to unpack data used in the text.

Questions	Indices	Purpose	MC/ OA ³³
<i>Which sectors have you worked in?</i>	Professional Mobility; Career Progression; Structural Equivalence	Is there a generation gap in involvement of different sectors? Does involvement in sectors impact perceptions? Is there a pattern of sector involvement and career progression?	MC
<i>What is your current position?</i>	Identifying node	Tracking correlation between responses and sector	OA
<i>Frequency of Attending Social and Professional Events; How useful are they?</i>	Networking Motivation; Horizon of Observation; Information flow	How effective are current structures for inclusion/information flow? Levels of awareness Networking and Participation Motivation	MC
<i>Views on level of fragmentation and communication</i>	Cohesion; Social capital; Communication	Social cohesion Information/resource flow	MC

33 Column indicates whether question was Multiple Choice (MC) or Open Answer (OA) .

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<i>Is the community supportive?</i>	Personal & Professional Support Networks	Is a support network in place? Levels of friendship	MC
<i>Does your professional environment encourage and support your individual needs?</i>	Support; Career Progression; Motivation	How supported and enabled do actors feel? Are organisations motivating individuals?	MC
<i>Is archaeology competitive or collaborative?</i>	Social Capital	Levels of collaboration and competition Perceptions of sectors	MC
<i>Are you aware of your work colleagues' research?</i>	Horizons of Observation	Awareness of others Network channels Personal vs. Professional linkages within the organisation	MC
<i>Are you aware of research external to your work place?</i>	Horizons of Observation	Awareness of other actors and their work Communication between organisations Dissemination of information	MC
<i>Do you make an effort to network?</i>	Motivation	What importance do actors place on personal relations?	MC
<i>Ranking social attributes: Legitimacy or authority; Referent power; Recognised expertise; Control over Information and Resources</i>	Prestige; Status; Rank; Reputation; Prominence	Is there a relationship between sector and what social attributes are important? What responsibilities/role are valued higher?	MC
<i>Map your professional and personal network you find critical for your work</i>	Clusters; Personal/Professional Linkages	Determine niche groups, isolated groups, and use of formal and informal structures	OA
<i>What role do you think archaeology should play in modern society?</i>	Self-categorisation	Roles and responsibilities; perceptions Status in society	OA
<i>Has archaeology increased/decreased in</i>	Comparing variables	How has standards differed changing variable of private versus public	MC

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<i>standards under the planning system?</i>		funded projects?	
<i>Do you think values are under threat?</i>	Self-concept Power dynamics	Without defining values, do archaeologists feel threatened? Perceptions of power	MC
<i>Matrix: Perceptions on Organisations re: membership, familiarity and delivery of remit, impact and overall importance</i>	Roles & responsibilities Status Reputation Cohesion	What role do organisations play and how are they perceived?	MC
<i>Identify influential/critical actors</i>	Centrality Prestige Importance	Addressing the role of individuals Is there a generational gap?	MC
<i>Demography</i>	Structural Equivalence	Relationships between perceptions	MC

Figure 18 Questions for online survey

2.4.6 Coding and analysing the data

After the data collection was complete from both cities, I then imported the survey results into the software programme SPSS which is used for analysing social statistics. Responses were coded into numerical values so that they could then be represented statistically (Appendix 4).

The same applied to the interviews. Each interview was listened to again, and recurrent concepts across participants were coded into a spreadsheet (Appendix 4). Concepts embedded in SNA which have been explained in Section 2.2 (also see Figure 17 to correlate questions with indices) were used in the semi-structured interview, and so these concepts and points were pulled out of interviews.

Codes were based on my interpretation of the interview in cases where a direct *yes* or *no* was not communicated. Where the participant did not discuss a point, they are coded in the spreadsheet as zero (presented as *No Response* or *Unidentified* in charts). For example, to understand if archaeology is fragmented, I would code interviews based on whether they openly use that term, or whether they describe a form of fragmentation. For example, ‘I don’t think anyone’s critical because it’s so fragmented’; or ‘They are fragmented – I think it needs very positive action to try and change that’ would fall under ‘yes’. Whereas someone answering to the question would fall under ‘no’ with a response such as ‘over time we’ve realised that we’ve all got to work together so there’s a lot more cross-fertilisation than there was’.

Additionally with coding, I did not want to limit my data by only looking for concepts I had already imposed by my questions or pre-judgments, so I also took issues raised and repeated by numerous participants into account. For example, in NYC, participants mentioned being

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‘choosing battles’; ‘being fearless’; the relevance of money; and being bullied by developers. This was not an initial question, however I found that participants would mention these points naturally on their own accord, and so started to code them. In some cases, I coded issues that were only raised a handful of times, and so did not include them in the study.

It should be noted that charts and percentages are presented at times to include only those who responded and could be coded (Appendix 4 for entire list of percentages),³⁴ or include the unidentified as part of the total percentage. This is extremely important to keep in mind: percentages are not always based on the total amount of participants. Furthermore, because coding is interpretative, and therefore subjective, I have supplied the spreadsheet (although participants are anonymous) and the transcripts for transparency.

Codes were then used to establish statistical data, which is presented throughout the text as percentages. These percentages are presented and accompanied by quotations from participants that best represent the sentiment of the quantitative data. Because the data collected is so large, it is impractical to present all qualitative references, and also redundant. Where possible, I have inserted other references whereby the reader can see further examples referring to the same issue at hand.

2.4.6.1 Limitations with the Survey Data

The survey led to a number of complications, including: questions interpreted differently; the time it took for participants to complete the survey varied from 10 minutes to an hour resulting in incomplete responses; some participants found the online survey difficult to navigate;³⁵ and of course it excluded those without access to a computer.

There were also issues concerning confidentiality. I found that individuals were much more open to discussing issues face-to-face, than providing information – despite anonymity – online in the survey.

34 Appendix 4 has all the frequencies, percentages and numbers that are used in this study. It is essential to look at should the reader want to see the full percentage score if it is not included in the text. For example, the text may site ‘60% of interview participants agreed’. To see the all details, it is necessary to refer to the Appendices.

35 Some questions required an answer (signalled by a red asterisk) and would prohibit progression to the next page if left unanswered. Some participants failed to realise this, and through annoyance left the survey early as could not move on to the next page and presumably did not want to answer specific required questions.

2.5 Software Used

NVivo	•Qualitative data analysis software designed to code and manage interviews and other audio or text-based data available from UCL software for students
Open Office	•Open source word processor
Opinio	•Online survey provider
SPSS	•Statistical Package for the Social Sciences used to analyse interviews and survey available from UCL software for students
WREALLY	•An online transcribing browser found at https://transcribe.wreally.com

2.6 Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number 3835/001) and is compliant with the Data Protection Act 1998 whereby all data is collected and stored appropriately (Registration Number Z636 4106/2012/03/48).

Participants were sent a consent form (Appendix 1) that I, as researcher, requested they look over prior to the interview. At meeting, prior to beginning the interview, I asked whether they had any questions regarding the research or the use of their information. All analysis and information that reveals identity of individuals is not damaging to their reputation, and participants are in full right to request their identity be concealed should the information they provided be used.

2.7 Design Limitations, Challenges and Other Considerations

2.7.1 Case Studies: Limitations, Generalisations and Site-Specific Circumstances

The achievement of internal validity and external validity (that is, meaningful results within each case-study as well as validity in its application to other cases) can be attained through further research and focus on gaps and structural holes that could not be addressed in this research. The work presented here suggests that this is a vast area of crucial importance in the field of archaeology and urban planning. To justify the contributions from the participants and the wealth

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of literature surrounding urban studies is no easy task, which has resulted in this thesis occasionally addressing issues too lightly. It can be criticised for structural holes in aspects and areas that could not be afforded attention due to time and word restraints.

Also, results should be appreciated as my own interpretations of the data collected. The research is as transparent as possible by providing all raw data and coding methods in the Appendices. I also avoid making generalisations without addressing site-specific circumstances and placing them within their context. However, I note here that my design, perspectives and values are shaped by European ideologies, and so my approach and interpretations are subjective.

Equal representation may be compromised in the data analysis as participation was voluntary and so invitations were declined both in interviews and more prominently with the survey. It is also necessary to note that the selection process of the sample universe left some organisations, such as various historical/archaeological societies, museums, contractors, etc., excluded in the research as the quantity of operating actors is too vast to cover. In light of this missing information, I reconstruct relationships based on *perceived* relationships described by two or more participants. I do not think it will deeply affect the analysis of data presented in the conclusion.

Focus was on individuals, organisations and units identified for their influencing capacity and impact-ability, determined by their high profile, decision-making capacity, access to resources, disseminating information and/or negotiating activities. Other various actors are included, selected through online research or referral, provided they fit the criteria of involvement in the city.

Another relevant constraint experienced during analysis was based on accessibility and compatibility of software. A lot of the software used in this research is open source, or offered free from UCL software for students. Also, a lot of the software is only recently starting to be compatible with Mac computers, and notably not with older versions of the Mac.

2.7.2 *Variables*

In the conduct of this research, it became apparent that the study approach introduces potential problems for comparative analysis that needs to be addressed in future research. The first possible obstacle is the variable.

The study explores and compares narratives between the archaeological processes and practices *before* and *after* the introduction of neoliberal policies (i.e. deregulatory policies and increased privatisation), pinned to the 1970s and 1980s. My approach introduces a significant source of bias in that it presumes that the outcome of the dependent variable is predominantly due to adopted neoliberal policies. This is clearly problematic for studies that aim to carry out research in social contexts, and so it is worth noting that there may be other independent variables that have been overlooked, skimmed over, or ignored due to my own biases.

2.7.3 *Positionality*

Changing *positionality* from on-going research experience and interactions led to lessons-learned and evolving methods of data retrieval. For example, the data collection between both London and New York City were a year apart. Changes in approach and perceptions most likely led to a different approach in questioning.

2.7.4 *Cultural Differences*

The methods, although carried out in the same way, yielded different reactions and responses from the two cities. It is not only the researcher that may influence results through data collection and analysis, but also the way questions are interpreted by the participant that may be rooted in cultural differences, and may cause different outcomes. Invitations, information sheets, and consent forms were changed – following the advice of a senior NYC figure – after they noted the wording and angle could be perceived as negative, suspicious and condescending, for example. On the other hand, this was not an issue in London.

2.8 The Participants

This section presents the participants that make up this research. It should be used as a guide for understanding the results for London in Chapter 5 and the results for NYC in Chapter 7.

2.8.1 *London Participants*

2.8.1.1 Gender Representation

In the interviews, 72.7% of the participants were male. As Figure 19 shows, males were dominant in most sectors, most likely a reflection of gender inequality in the profession, especially in more senior roles (see Hamilton, 2014). From the 64 survey participants, 11 were female, 13 male, and 40 did not respond.³⁶ Note that the Figure below only presents data from the interview.

³⁶ The gender from the survey is not enough to use alongside the data provided and therefore will be discarded.

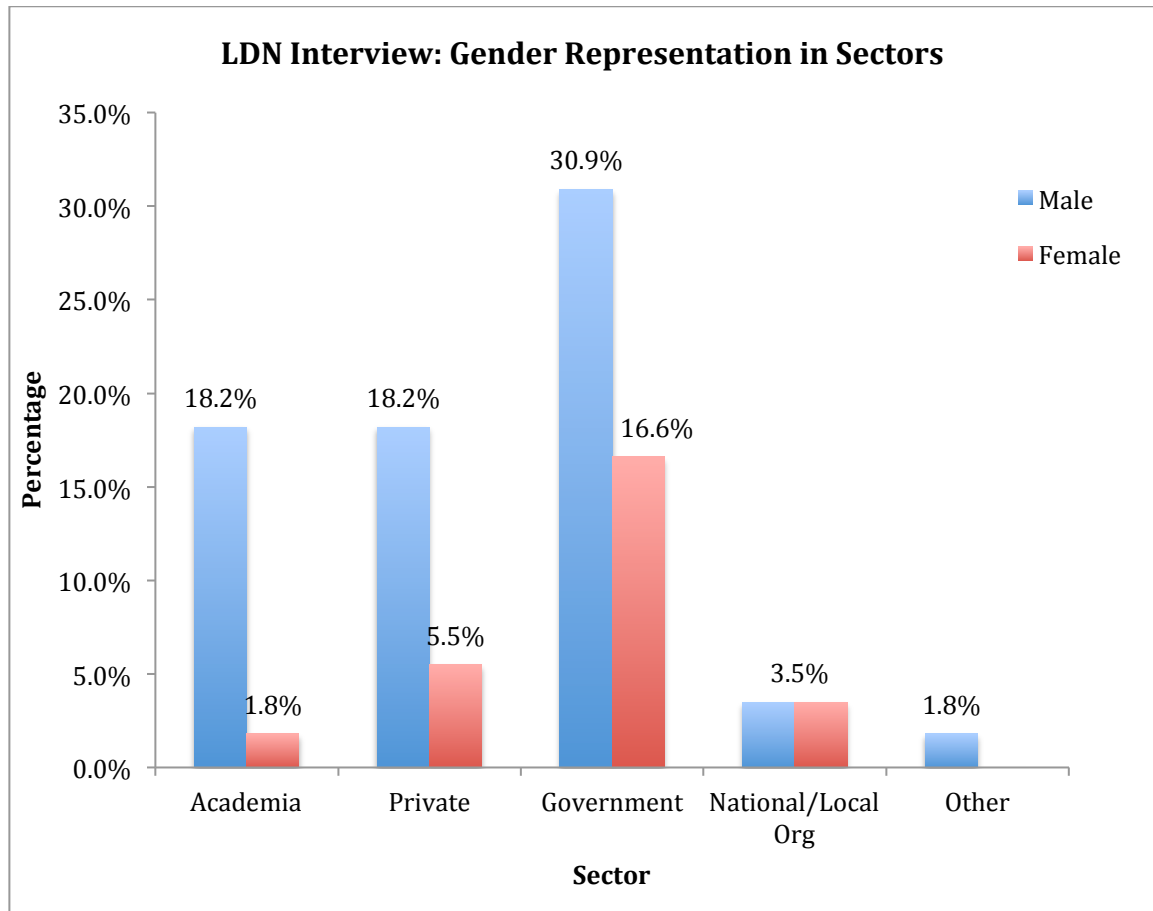


Figure 19 LDN Interviews: Gender representation according to sector

2.8.1.2 Age Representation

At first instance, age brackets were recorded at intervals of 10 years, however it later emerged that exploring age representation in relation to emerging themes introduced in this thesis were best categorised in two groups: under 50 and 51 or older. Although this can initially appear as a crude breakdown, the logic is based on the archaeological timescale investigated in the research. Archaeologists who had the opportunity to experience the mid-70s as a young adult (i.e. age 16), for example, would at time of writing) need to be over 51. If at the start of the 1980s they were approximately age 18, then by 2010 they would be 48. The idea was to capture those who experienced these decades as young adults, so that they may potentially reveal a generational difference of opinion or even values. In both the UK and the US, the 1970s and 80s were prominent decades in establishing the profession and achieving recognition by the government. From the survey 62.4% did not reveal their age, but of the remaining respondents 20.4% were 51 or older, with 17.2% 50 or under. Figure 20 outlines the age bracket in percentage from those that responded alongside the information that we have from the interviews. Out of the 55 interviews, 69% were categorised as above 50.

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Categorising participants according to age (above or below 50) enables further exploration into different perceptions related to generations. These could be perceptions in terms of dedication to job, risk-taking, senior-junior relationships, training, values, and notions of progress, specialisation and career progression (discussed in results chapters). It allows us to explore changes in attitude and relational dynamics (see Section 2.2). There was an observed difference between those who started their career before or in the 1970s (see Section 4.2.6) and those who came in after it (see Section 4.2.6). 60% of interview participants identified with a particular generation, referring to it as different in one way or another; the remaining did not. This remaining 40% were either younger (and so do not notice a shift between ‘then’ and ‘now’), or elder but associated equally with younger peers and did not comment on differences.

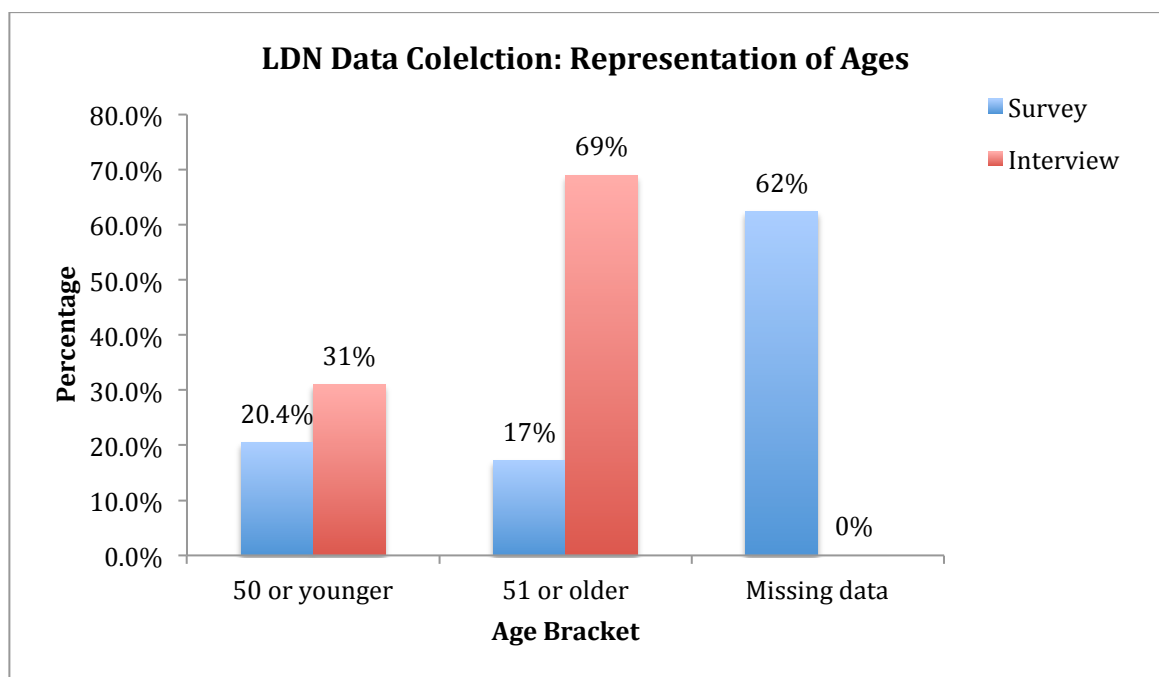


Figure 20 LDN Participants: Representation of ages

Because the selection of some interviewees was based on suggestions from other interviews, the weight towards the above 50 category is partly due to the cluster effect, as those who have been around longer tend to know each other and have established stronger ties within that network. Figure 21 is a visual representation which shows how generations may form clusters, and it is the individuals that create bridges between the two clusters. Many younger archaeologists that were suggested were contacted and interviewed (e.g. Cohen, Flatman, Constable, Dhanjal, Melikian, Moshenska, Richardson and Single).

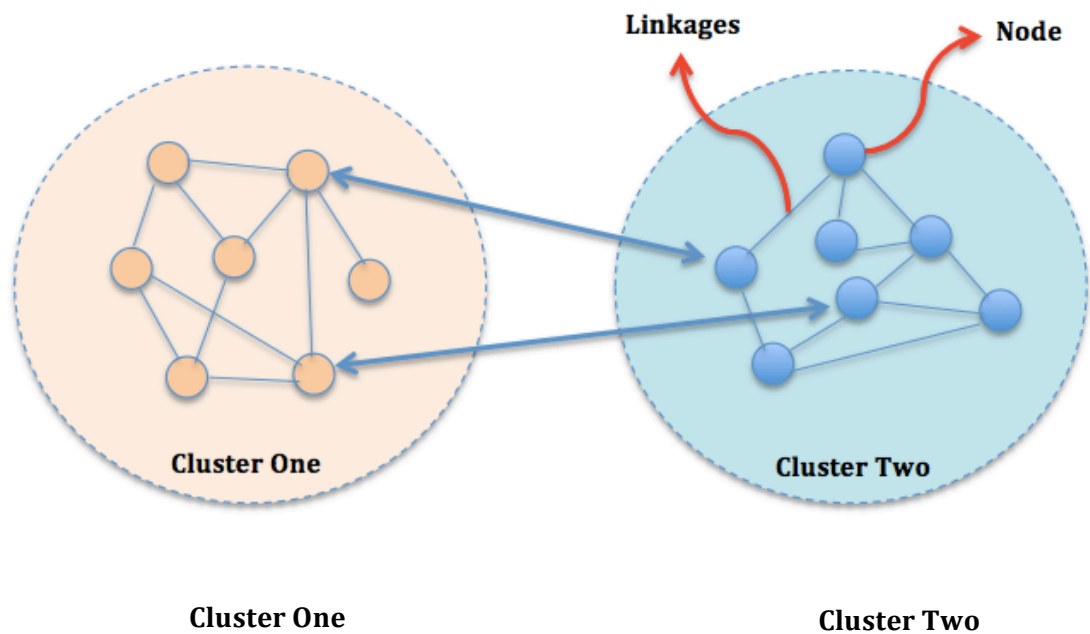


Figure 21 Network clusters, nodes and bridgers

2.8.1.3 Sector Representation

I categorise participants according to the organisation they work in (see Appendix 3). Participant representation of each sector is shown in Figure 22.

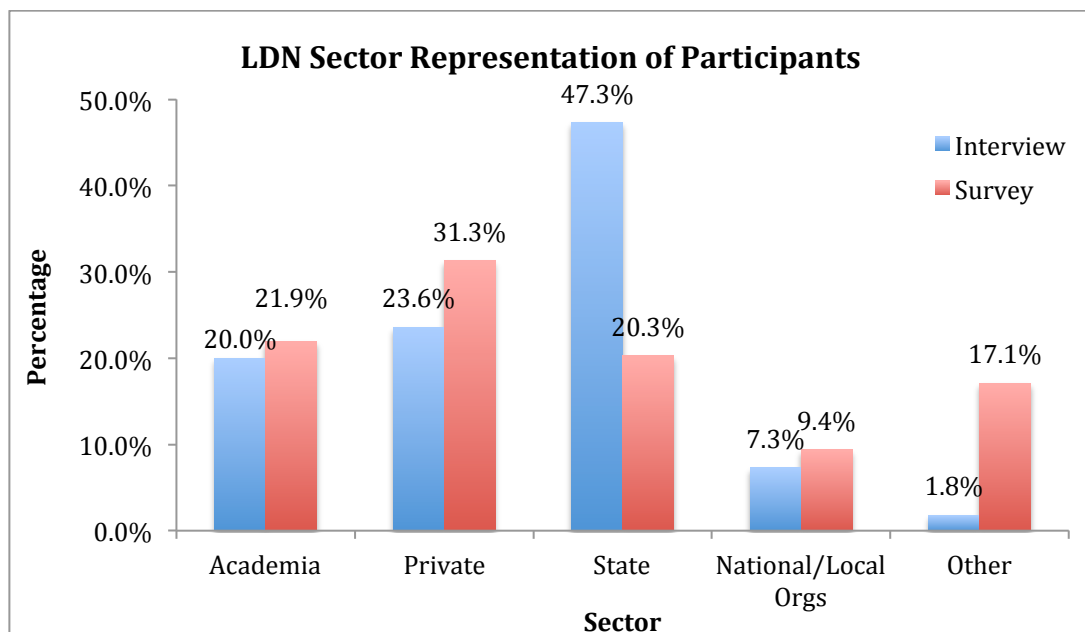


Figure 22 LDN Sector representation of participants

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2.8.1.4 Case Study: London Interviews Conducted from May 2012 to December 2013

Interviews in London were conducted over several months, with the peak during the spring and summer of 2012. I interviewed a total of 55 participants (Appendix 3). During the first stage which took place Spring/Summer 2012, I managed to conduct 37 interviews. It was not until carbon copying my supervisor – known in London archaeology – into these emails that I received acceptance emails from another 17 participants during early 2013. My last interviewee came to my attention quite late, being a significant player in London Archaeology for only a limited period of time in the 1980s, and currently residing elsewhere. My overall experience in London was that it was quite difficult to get many archaeologists to participate, particularly the contract archaeologists. What was interesting is that participants would mention other people I should interview in our closing chat after the interview, and would say that they would forward my email onto them, as they were ‘mates’, and would let them know ‘I was ok to speak to’. I do not sense that this had any influence collecting data from London.

It was predominantly the government sector who accepted to participate in the research, and who were also more open to suggest names to contact. Cognitive mapping was a difficult process in London as most participants were hesitant to refer or suggest actors. Unlike NYC, participants did not openly reveal friendships either: for example, many of the requested edits for transcripts involved removing names or assumed relationships.

I struggled to find academics involved in London archaeology, and did not get many contractors or consultants keen to speak either. However, when I did manage to conduct interviews, it was one of the most rewarding experiences: most participants were very open, passionate and revealing about their thoughts, experiences and insights into their own careers and the community. I was both shocked and overwhelmed by the emotional investment, commitment and dedication put into protecting the historic environment. It was quite a moving experience and, despite the agony involved in transcribing each interview in verbatim, it was a great opportunity to pull out further themes having the ability to go back and reconsider answers.

Still, I was surprised to find that being based in London, and affiliated with the Institute of Archaeology, I did not manage to speak to more people. It was hinted at times that invitations were rejected based on my personal relationships at the Institute of Archaeology, as well as an active unwillingness to assist students with their time-wasting questions that nobody ever sees. I am uncertain if this has any validity (see Section 2.7).

2.8.2 *New York Participants*

During a three month data collection period, I interviewed 60 individuals in NYC, 5 more than in the London.³⁷ Already the collegiality and network emerges: two key individuals had received well over 30 email forwards from other individuals I had invited, which was revealed during interviews in comments such as ‘Did you get in touch with Nan [Rothschild] and Diana [Wall]? I forwarded your email to them’. Again, demonstrative of the cluster network in Figure 21.

As for the survey, there were only 23 respondents, with only 6 completed. The survey was circulated through organisations by members of groups, but failed to get an adequate number of responses. Although there are not many archaeologists working in NYC itself, it was surprising that younger archaeologists working as ‘shovel bums’ or behind the scenes – so to speak – did not take the opportunity to complete the survey. In this sense, the data does not represent archaeologists younger than age 30.

2.8.2.1 Gender Representation

From the interviews, 60% of them were female. Out of the 40% of male participants, only 12.5% were actually archaeologists based in New York City; the other 87.5% of the males were either based outside of NYC and did relevant amounts of work in the city; were based in NY but are historic preservationists and do not consider themselves archaeologists; were based up in Albany some 240km away; or were retired.

As for the survey, only six participants responded to the question, resulting in an equal split of three female and three male.

The bar graph (Figure 23) below shows the distribution of gender according to sector. We can see that women are well-established in each sector. Even in NYSHPO, there have been a series of women who have worked in senior positions, so it should not be assumed that men dominate head offices.

It remains the case today that women hold many key positions in NYC archaeology. Individual names that come up repeatedly as key hubs of knowledge, expertise and information are women.³⁸

37 Two requested anonymity whilst one academic requested I pull their name from the study.

38 Amanda Sutphin, Nan Rothschild, Diana Wall, Anne-Marie Cantwell, Joan Geismar and Sherene Baugher. Others named as main CRM companies are Linda Stone and Alyssa Loorya. All women.

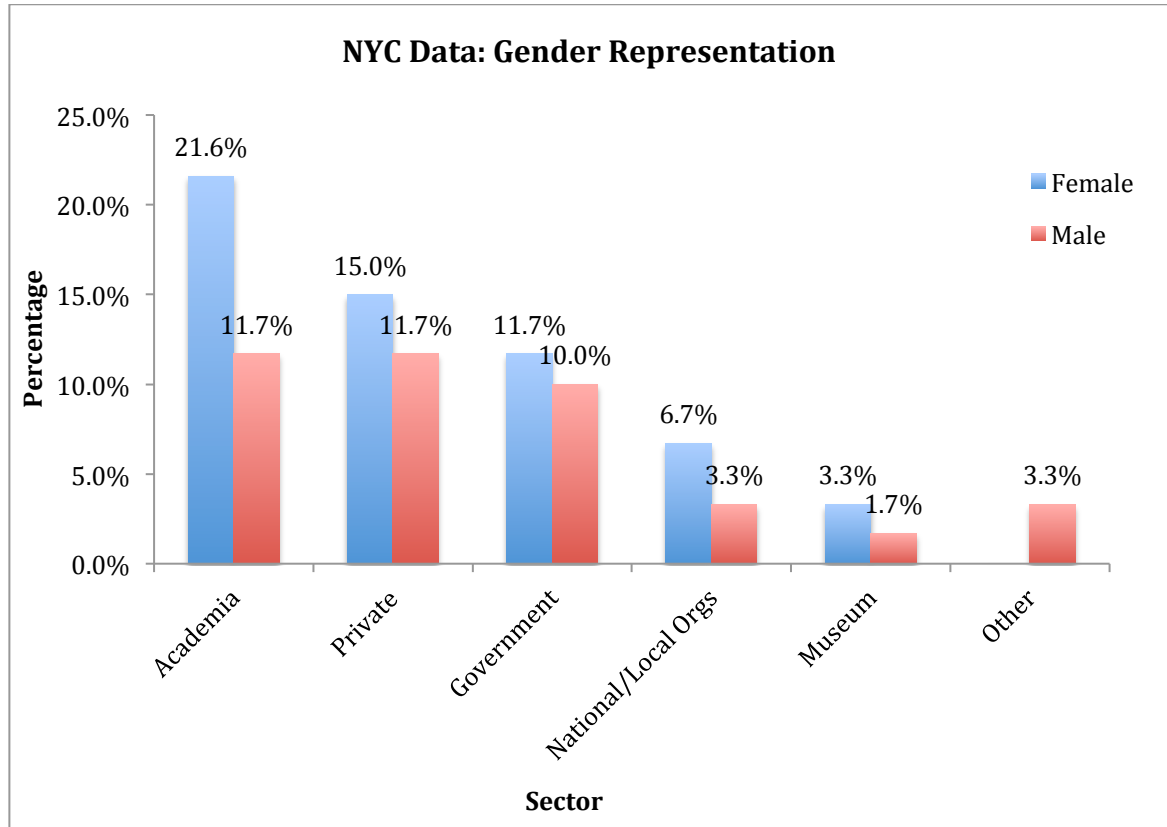


Figure 23 NYC Participants: gender representation according to sector in NYC

2.8.2.2 Age Representation

From the interviews, 63.8% of participants were over 50. In fact, many of those over 50 were well into their 60s and 70s. Those remaining who were under 50 were mostly in their early to late 40s with a rare exception in the mid to late 30s.

Again, with the survey, there is not much to report. Only 9 participants answered: 5 under 50, and 4 above. Three of those did not complete the survey.

2.8.2.3 Sector Representation

The participant representation is presented in Figure 24. Contrary to London, a significant amount of academics and CRM archaeologists were interviewed.

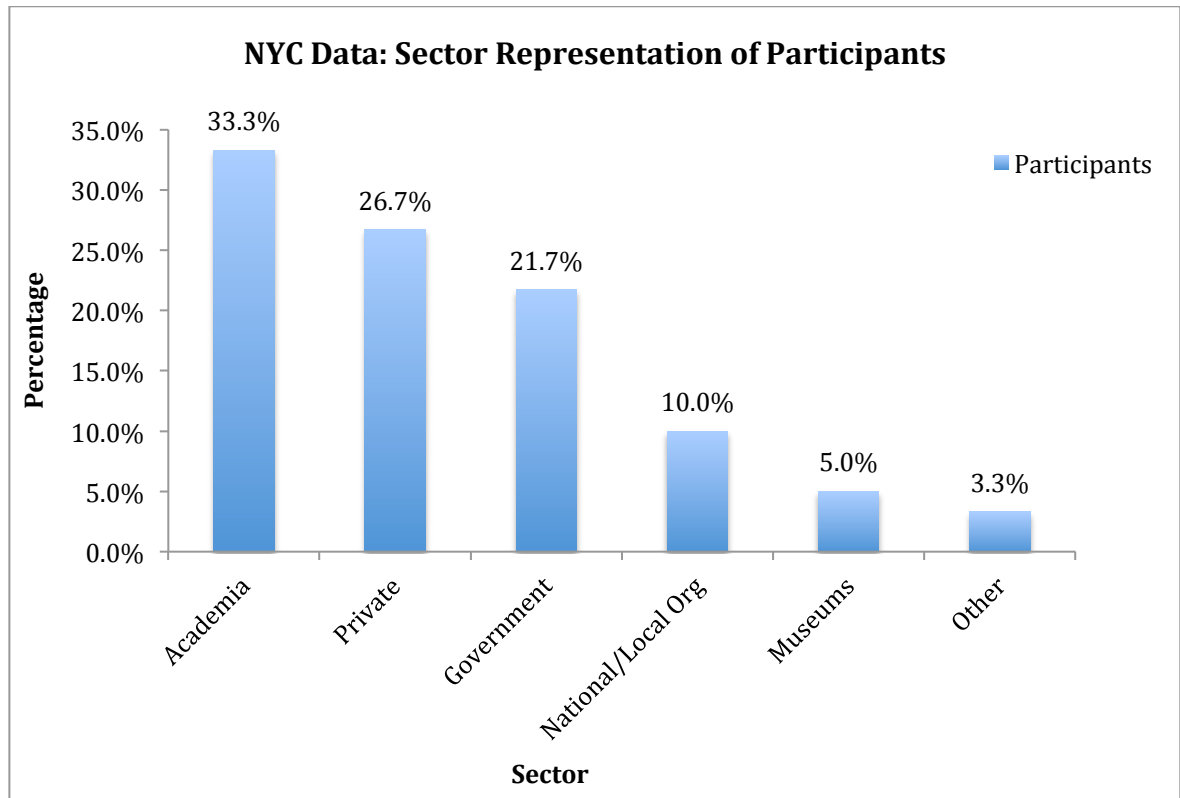


Figure 24 Sector representation of participants in NYC

2.8.2.4 Case Study: NYC Interviews Conducted from July to September 2013

What I found surprising about New York City is the enthusiasm: over a period of exactly three months, without any local affiliation or connection, I managed to interview 60 participants. The majority were very interested and keen in being a part of the research, but also openly shared their excitement about the work, the value of it, and expressed that they were looking forward to reading the results - which was something rare to hear in London. They also were very open about name-dropping, suggesting other colleagues, and revealing their friendships and connections.

Unlike London, I was even being contacted via email by archaeologists who introduced themselves and offered to be participants. Another observation is that each interviewee spoke on a very personal and individual level, rather than as a representative of their organisation they work for – again, different from London. They were more concerned about their personal relationships, than misrepresenting their organisation.

My main challenge in the NYC sample is that it was extremely difficult to find local archaeologists under the age 40 involved in the city. I had hoped that this would be countered by responses to the online survey, however that part of the data collection was equally unsuccessful in that I received few more than a handful of responses.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the methods and methodology used in this research, and has provided a generous understanding of how SNA functions and what concepts we can adopt in collecting data for this research. Each question in both interview and survey is built from concepts used in previous SNA research and through other SNA literature presented here.

The case study selection is also discussed, and a brief but efficient description of global cities and why they are critical areas for understanding social, political, economic and cultural dynamics is provided. The manner in which data has been analysed and represented in this thesis is also introduced.

Lastly, the participants and their gender, age and sector can be found in this chapter so that the categorisation of participants can be visualised and understood together rather than separately in each chapter.

I should clarify here that I am using global cities as a case study to understand *organisational* and *behaviourial* relationships within the archaeological profession so that we can reconsider how to restructure and renegotiate our position within urban bureaucracy and governance. To do this, we need to respond to internal challenges and conflicts. I have used cities for this research because (a) urban contexts are understood to be testbeds to policy as relationships and dynamics tend to be exaggerated and more apparent for observation; (b) urban archaeology faces tremendous pressures and challenges within urban contexts, and although some of these challenges are present in towns or smaller places, the complexity in an urban context offers a richer dataset; (c) urban archaeology tends to be the most threatened due to urban demand for development, and so requires a cohesive and proactive profession to face the challenges of working in an urban context; (d) the inevitability of deregulatory policies increasing reaching to remote areas as urban sprawl stretches outwards means that archaeology could well benefit from understanding how broader concerns may impact individuals and consequently the profession.

3 Chapter Three: A Brief Introduction to The Global City

*The city is not...merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction.
It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it;
it is a product of nature, and particularly human nature.*

Park, Burgess & McKenzie, 1925

3.1 Introduction

It is vital to understand the impact that particular forces (such as urbanisation, industrialisation, development and globalisation) have on towns and cities. This impact not only reshapes physical characteristics, but also heavily influences and restructures forms of governance, private and public sectors, dynamics between groups, and individuals. Urban archaeology – being embedded within such a context – may have been constructed within strong national boundaries, but as a consequence of global processes transforming organisational and governance processes, is seeing the breakdown of previous traditional practices. The prosperity, value and very survival of urban archaeology may be at stake without attention to these impacts.

This chapter provides the stage in which this study is played out. The post-war period saw the extensive planned destruction of urban areas, historic or otherwise. Development was part of the greater response of increased rural-to-urban migration flows, the popularity of car usage and associated transport infrastructure, and the need to accommodate residents and businesses with relevant facilities and resources (Freestone, 2000; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2014). These developments had a massive impact on the archaeology and the way it is practised. While the chapter focuses on the *urban*, it does so to demonstrate the importance of the urban context in the pursuit of urban conservation.

The two chapters so far build on developing an understanding of the macro-context in which the two case studies reside. The purpose is to situate the larger environment archaeologists work in, because often the renegotiations of roles and duties are not a development of the archaeological practice per se, but a response to shifting visions, public policies and practices within an urban context.

3.2 Introducing Global Cities and the Urban Environment

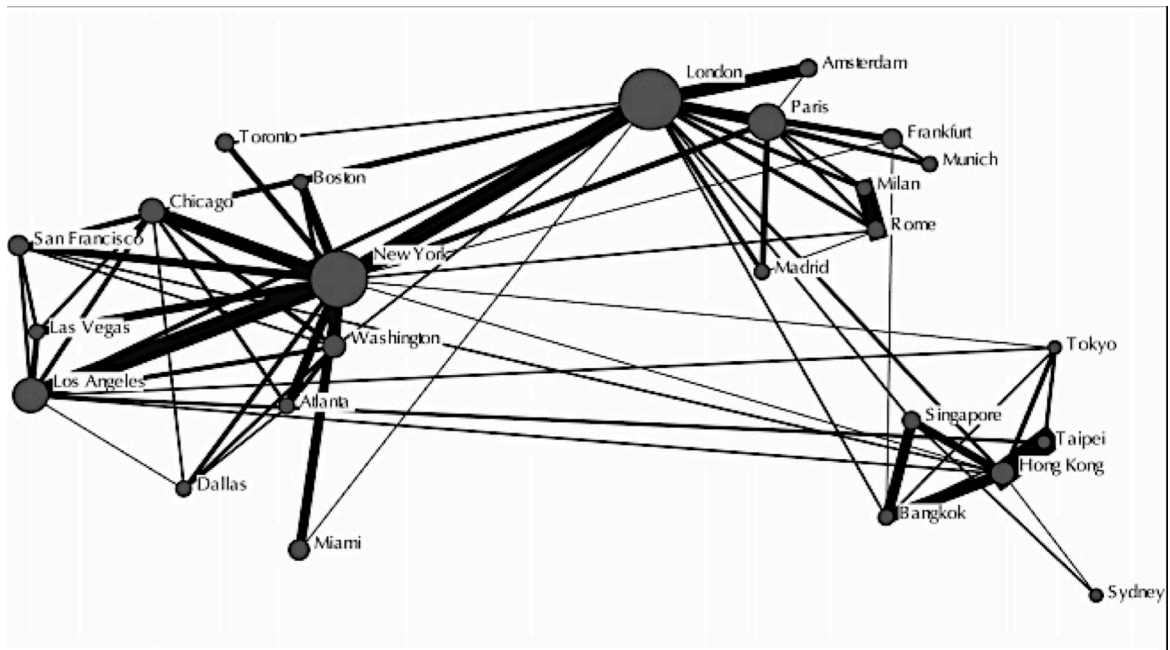


Figure 25 The global city network and their links (Derudder & Witlox, 2005)

In the previous chapter, we looked at networks among individuals and groups. Network units are not limited by size, and with re-scaling the context a city may be considered as a unit in the case of understanding *global* networks and processes. Global cities are networks of socio-economic and political processes that follow the same logic regarding *clustering*, *exchange*, and *flows of resources*. Such resources include capital, labour, goods, raw materials, policies, tourists, and other inputs (Sassen, 2005).

Figure 25 is a visual representation of the global city structure: the sizes of the nodes (such as London and New York City) represent the scale measuring city *centrality* (as hubs), while the lines are linkages that measure ties with strength indicated by thickness. These are all concepts we saw in the previous chapter.

Global cities are actually different from megacities or world cities, although they do have a lot in common with world cities³⁹ (Hall, 1966; Friedman, 1986; Sassen, 1991, 2000, 2005; Lacour,

39 Briefly, *megacities* are generally urban agglomerations with a total population over ten million. We have seen a growth of megacities in the second half of the 20th century, with two-thirds of them located in Developing Countries. They are different to *world cities*, although there is a significant overlap in definition, in that world cities tend to suggest a city located in a strategic world location. World cities are defined more by their

1999; Taylor, 2004; Bourdeau-Lepage & Huriot, 2005). *Global cities* are concerned with a global network of socio-political and economic activity *flow* and are removed from geographic affiliations. They are connected to complex network processes that value the concentration of knowledge and the knowledge economy. As such, they are information *hubs*. Sassen (2001, 2005) associates the emergence of the global city with privatisation and deregulation as well as the strengthening of globalisation, which she argues brings a new type of organisational structure, requiring a new *conceptual architecture*. A strict distinction is not critical to this study: the research is relevant for cities worldwide hoping to improve their urban conservation.

Various policy and planning practices are now present in many countries across the world. **Urban conservation** comes into the equation as it is understood as ‘a policy and planning practice...rooted in the public’s fascination for past built environment [and representative] of history, personal and collective memory values, spirit of place’ (Banderin & Van Oers, 2014: vii). While social structures, social needs and values change, so too does the physical fabric of the city, which may affect the historic environment below or above ground.

The urban environment is not only a reflection of collective or contested identity and memory, but it is also a reflection of politics and policy processes. Politics has always played a major role on the management of the urban environment – under urban planning and urban development – which is ultimately accompanied by issues of conservation, preservation, and archaeological endeavours (Figure 26). Although conservation is culturally valued, tensions have risen through the emergence of global processes. Many countries have embraced conservation policies that have been established alongside their own planning approaches and traditions, however many of these principles and objectives were set during the first part of the 20th century (Larkham, 1996; Cohen, 1999; Bandarin & Von Oers, 2014). Although international instruments are highly influential and provide good guidance (see Section 1.4.1), the planning culture of our time has gaps as global and national legal tools and public policies struggle to deal with the needs, provisions and infrastructure required of a modern working global city.⁴⁰

geography than by their economy. In many ways, the differentiation of definition could largely be due to their association with socio-political contexts and the time-period in which they were described. Sassen (2005: 28) describes world cities as the ‘type of city which we have seen over the centuries, in earlier periods of Asian and in European colonial centres (sic)’. For example, world cities would be Kaliningrad in Russia, Thessaloniki in Greece and Alexandria in Egypt.

40 This point was raised during a discussion of HULs by ICOMOS: ...while the existing methodology is essentially valid, increased development pressures in urban areas and the resultant changes in both the quantity and scale of the proposed intervention now require the development of management tools that may help to identify, assess and mitigate the impact of proposed policies, plans and interventions on the historic urban complex (Firestone, 2007 referencing ICOMOS discussion on HULs).

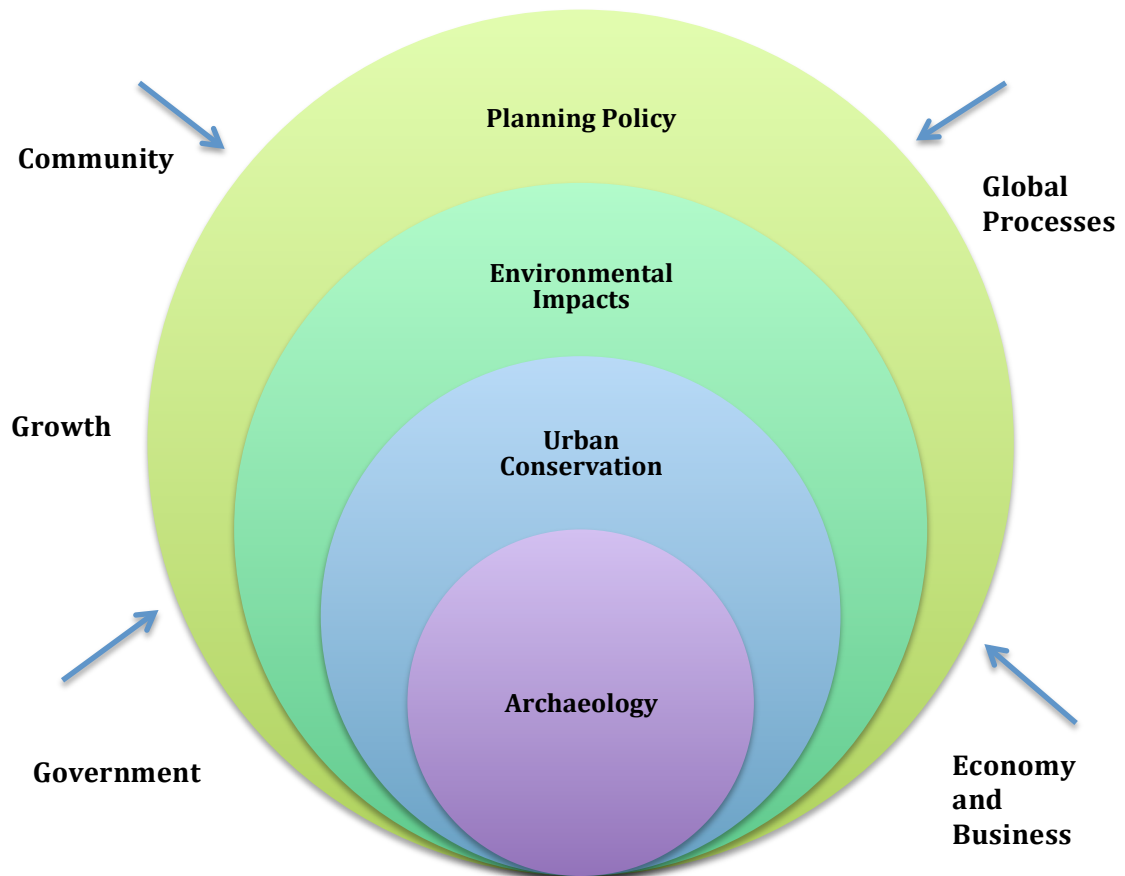


Figure 26 Archaeology under the planning structure

How the global-local interface is politically managed at the urban level is a key aspect of what creates the degree of variation between cities (Newman & Thornley, 2005). The urban political response to globalisation forces is critical to the formation of global cities. ‘Strategic urban planning policy is particularly pertinent because it is involved in the task of balancing broader economic pressures and local needs’ (Newman & Thornley, 2005: 1). Global cities are intensely linked with the global economy, and as such are intensely responsive to the political and economic forces. The planning of such cities – or those pursuing the global city status – is shaped by their global role and the powerful forces created by being a part of the global network. Globalisation creates inevitable impacts and now plays a considerable role in the decision-making processes of public policy, meanwhile the role of the public remains an extremely powerful and influential actor in the fate of cities.

The UNESCO Executive Board Document 181 EX/29 comments:

Global processes have a direct impact on the identity and ‘visual integrity’ of historic cities and their broader setting, as well as on the people who live in them...in some countries, centrally controlled planning has given way to decentralization and market-

CHAPTER 3: THE GLOBAL CITY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

oriented approaches. The result is those cities, and their planning processes, have become increasingly fragmented, while inequality and environmental degradation has increased (UNESCO, April 2009).

The global approach of new public management has impacted many – if not all – of subnational governments and governance strategies. The rescaling process of Local Government alongside mediating international pressures has resulted in new decision-making centres. Public policy driven by economic competitiveness is causing considerable environmental damage to urban economies. The severity and degree, however, of these global forces is based on how local areas respond and manage to restructure organisations, instruments and tools of governance. Despite much rhetoric focusing on the negative impacts of greater external forces, ‘...globalization is not inherently good or bad; its outcomes are largely the result of human decisions that can be debated and changed’ (Scholte, 2000: 9). The destabilisation caused by new public management means we need to address how we have traditionally understood relationships, and reassess those traditional values and relationships. An insight into global cities inevitably uncovers the variables that produce urban similarities. These variables can be used as a learning tool, while historically and culturally embedded perspectives will demonstrate the variation critical for developing new local strategies (Newman & Thornley, 2005: 31).

The rise of the global city has reshaped previous strategies of governance considerably, a matter that can by no means be untouched during any discussion of urban planning, development, and conservation. Cities need effective management: but the role of nation-states as central to public policy and politics is now being questioned. ‘New strategic priorities, conflicts and contradictions create institutional challenges’ (Newman & Thornley, 2005: 41). These institutional challenges, juxtaposed with a passive state only policing the basic rights of protecting property and administering freedom, are now resulting in the changing role and responsibilities of professionals, interested parties and the citizen.

This is particularly relevant to one of globalisation’s most pressing concerns: the environment. The State has been known to take a back seat when national and global environmental politics becomes a topic of discussion. Instead the promotion of democratic values now encourage public accountability and active citizenry, so that the citizen becomes *the* watch-dog of corporations and environmental concerns (Raco, 2012). This completely changes the duties of citizens where they are encouraged to practise self-reliance over community dependence, and self-discipline over society regulation (Safire, 2004). Although this change in responsibility appears detached from relevance to the changes in governance, institutions and community responsibility, it is in fact crucial because what it means is that citizens and businesses are supposed to regulate themselves, leaving the question of accountability open and unsettling.

In the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, science and technology communities and other non-state actors were mentioned as the major agents for sustainability, not

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governments. Political, social and environmental issues are increasingly monitored and resolved through the expert (as the advisory pro-profit body) rather than through democratic deliberation (Backstrand, 2003). These are points to remember in Chapters 4 through 7 as we see archaeology becoming increasingly responsible for itself, with weakening support from government, and a strong need to get public support on its side.

3.2.1 *The Rise of the Global City*

The rise of global cities is a process of interrelated forces and dynamics, four of which I believe the most relevant are urbanisation, industrialisation, development and globalisation.⁴¹ They are four main principals that identify a city, but also impact quality of life. They also involve the concept of **agglomeration economies**, a powerful force used to reap the benefits of the ‘clustering’ effect: it means particular activities or peoples can avoid locational constraints and benefit from sharing the available resources/facilities from a particular location. All these forces have an important role in the evolution of the urban, and help to define and create the city.

Below briefly introduces these forces individually to capture their mark in making a city global, and to familiarise the reader with each concept.

3.2.1.1 Urbanisation

The concept of **urbanisation**, and population growth, used to be a key component for identifying cities as separate from other settlements, such as towns. The idea that the characterisation of the urban is solely based on size alone was soon to be considered as pointless (Wirth, 1938), although it remains an important criterion. We associate urbanisation with the growth of cities, where the proportion of the urban population to the total population increases over time. It is through rapid population increase that we then determine a set of consequences that are likely to happen, which is partly why we continue to pay strict attention to fluctuations.

Urbanisation is now at its highest in most countries worldwide and puts stress on the patterns of physical growth and urban sprawl of cities. Now, more than half of the world’s population is located in urban areas. The UN figures claim that ‘the global urban population has quadrupled since 1950, and cities of the developing world now account for over 90% of the world’s urban growth (Moreno & Warah, 2006: 6). 3.5 *billion* people occupying just 2% of the Earth’s land requires considerable infrastructure. The physical development of cities cannot keep pace with urbanisation (Weitz, 1973). The processes of urbanisation are rapidly accelerating, and under current conditions of globalisation and development we are witnessing a phenomenon impacting all corners of personal and social life at an unprecedented scale.⁴² It may be argued that the

41 It is my view that all these factors work towards the rise of the global city. Discussion focusing on globalisation specifically is to separate forces that prioritise global conditions above local.

42 For the sake of focus, we will not discuss demography and its influence on urbanisation and urban change;

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negative impacts of urbanisation are more about the inability of existing structures and traditional strategies of governance to manage, than of the impacts themselves.

More relevant to this research is the social and psychological implications of urbanisation: Louis Wirth (1938) in his book 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' investigated how social organisation, attitudes and behaviours change through living in a largely sized and populated heterogeneous city. He explored the way of life and culture, or **urbanism**, of the city. Urbanism is seen as 'a state of mind, a body of customs, traditions, attitudes and sentiments, specifically linked to city dwelling' (Park, Burgess & McKenzie 1967: 1). Wirth suggested that in cities, there is an absence of community and close personal relationships, emotional withdrawal, superficial and impersonal interactions, and a more individualistic **mindset**. This is an extraordinary observation in terms of the aims of this research. I come back to this later in the discussion chapter.

Positive aspects of urbanisation are that the city becomes a hub of inspiration for scientific, intellectual, and artistic thought as it inherently holds interdisciplinary spaces and allows increased interactions. It becomes a place of opportunity and yields a range of positive effects, and is recognised as a catalyst for innovation and utopian movements, perhaps directly counter-acting the potential of cities being a place of physical and moral decay, filth, and crowdedness (Engels, 1845). This is a critical point because as challenges increase so does the concentration of platforms dedicated to developing plans for better management and structures. For example, urban conservation, planning and even urban archaeology came directly from a want to cure the wrongs of the city.

3.2.1.2 Industrialisation: Innovative Centres

It is difficult to say whether urbanisation is a response to **industrialisation**, or industrialisation a response to population growth: what is important is that they are closely related. All modern industrial societies are very heavily urbanised (Hutton & Giddens, 2000), while industrialisation encourages further migration, investment, development and globalisation.

Industrialisation significantly changed the way people thought about fields such as economics or government structure. Culturally, industrialisation has gone hand-in-hand with innovation, and cities are known as creative centres because they produce so many challenges, that with the high concentration of population, great ideas come forth.

In 1978, Swedish thinker Tornqvist developed the idea of the **creative milieu**, and introduced four features that it embodies. First, is that *information* is transmitted among people. Second, that there is *knowledge* within the information that is stored in real or artificial memories. Third, that there is *competence* in certain relevant activities defined in terms of external demands from the environment. Fourth, that there is *creativity*, formed out of all these activities. In a sense, a

economic growth or decline; and political change.

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type of synergy or ‘a process of dynamic synergy’ (Tornqvist, 1983; Andersson, 1985). Indeed, such centres require ‘communication between individuals and between different areas of competence...’ (Hall, 1998: 18). This suggests the city is a milieu with great opportunity that archaeologists need to take advantage of.

3.2.1.3 Development

Development is a vast concept, and it is with hesitancy that I introduce the term here as the complexity of the concept and all other relevant issues it is associated with is far beyond any intention in this thesis. The concept development invariably suggests an ability to devise meaningful targets or measures of progress, whatever our value judgements of the particular time may be. Although those value judgements may be drawn from a variety of sources, the emphasis in the urban context focuses on the idea that development is key to responding to urban problems and opportunities. It is, in this sense, inconceivable to ignore development, as it is inseparable to any growth within cities. Development can involve physical changes to the landscape, or community changes, but it can also include structural changes to governance and institutions, such as the development of systematised bureaucracy, political (informal and formal) institutions and so on.

3.2.1.4 Globalisation

The development of modern cities has had an enormous impact on changing our habits, modes of behaviour, patterns of thought and feelings (Giddens, 1995). The world has, in many respects, become a single social system. Growing ties of interdependence now affect all forms of social, political, economic and cultural life: connections crosscut national borders. These processes fall under the concept globalisation, a term used to describe the complex processes of interconnectedness. **Globalisation** is generally seen as an economic process and is considered one of the most important social changes of today, although there are many competing conceptions as to what it is. ‘The central feature of the idea of globalization is that many contemporary problems cannot be adequately studied at the level of nation-state [and instead] need to be conceptualized in terms of global processes’ (Sklair, 1999: 142). It involves the redistribution of power through the impact it has on governance and how various actors exercise their power to organise themselves and influence policy decisions and outcomes. Globalisation is ‘an on-going process, tied up in the strands of history, economic imperatives, institutional constraints and ultimately very much dependent on the actions of organizations and the perceptions of individuals’ (Sparrow, Brewster & Harris, 2004: xv).

3.2.1.5 Economies of Agglomeration

All the forces discussed above drive us towards similar network effects discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. We see the same theme: tighter and more cohesive networks produce advantageous environments in which one can benefit from. As with individual actors, cities also see the clustering effect – or form of *agglomerating* – as production is facilitated through resource flow and facilities available within an area of economic/political/social/cultural activity. Clusters of activities are said to help accumulate information and encourage the flow of new and innovative ideas.⁴³

Urbanisation, industrialisation, development and globalisation are concentrated and centre around geographic hubs of economic activity precisely because of the notion that ‘spatial proximity of activities makes resources more efficient than if such activities are spatially dispersed’ (Goldstein & Gronberg, 1984: 91). ‘Competing firms cluster to share common pools of labour or specialised services’ (Weber 1929; Hall, 1998: 292), or share fundamental research, knowledge and development. The realisation of this dependency helps to understand why public policies tend to favour market-based incentives. It also helps to appreciate that global cities are very much defined by their economic ambitions and activities, particularly within the neoliberal context. Firms take advantage of the ‘sharable factor’ and as such these advantages need to be provided by government or the private sector (Gronberg, 1983: 102).

In short, there is the emergence of new social relationships among people in cities through the process of physical and social change. It becomes increasingly obvious that systems of interaction encourage a polarity: the force of segregation and the melting pot effect (Wirth, 1938).

3.3 Shaping Cities

The spatial form of a city is very much related to the larger process of the society (Harvey, 1990; Castells, 1996). Harvey claims space is continually restructured: the process is determined by large firms, who decide where they should open their businesses or factories; and by policies, controls and initiatives asserted by governments, which change the landscape of the city. Castells (2001) adds that not only is it big corporations, businesses and governments that influence the shape of a city, but also communities and groups who live in cities. Local people and places may be overwhelmed and exploited by the forces of globalisation or they may seek to resist, adapt or turn globally induced change into an opportunity. Either way, they can be agents of resistance.

⁴³ I stress here that this concept is very much the concept introduced earlier in Chapter 2, and is a central factor to understanding the structure of archaeology (which is looked at in the coming chapters) but also to appreciate that this very same concept is what enables global cities to reach and maintain their powerful status.

3.3.1 *The Impact of Politics on the Urban Fabric*

The physical fabric ‘tends to carry or to symbolise important values’ and in effect ‘serve to perpetuate community traditions and to provide a sense of orientation within or to the community’ (Foley, 1964: 34). It is possible to trace different mindsets and values through how a city is planned, looking at style, lay-out, permissions, preservation schemes and other aspects physically visible, or *invisible*, in the fabric. We can observe whether development was planned or ad-hoc, which reflects the political structures and decision-making process of the time. Any planner will tell you that political and economic relations, nationally or globally, are the main relationships that restructure most cities and towns across the globe. Economic forces are commonly regarded as the dominant influence on urban change.

While every city has its individual character, urban places share common features that vary only slightly in degree or importance within the urban fabric. Common features include ‘areas of residential space, transportation lines, economic activities, service infrastructure, commercial areas and public buildings’ (Pacione, 2001: 3).

Despite differing historical processes unique to regions, many areas tend to follow similar trajectories of urban development, and so tend to exhibit similar challenges (Newman & Thornley, 2011; Pacione, 2001). The new global economy is considered as central to the decisions regarding urban management and planning. Increasingly in literature, we see the terms planning, development and neoliberalism used in the same context, as the impact of neoliberalism on the urban fabric is felt (Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000; Jessop, 2002; Ploger, 2004; Swyngedouw, Moulaert & Rodriguez, 2002; Weber, 2002; Raco, 2005; Roy, 2005; Sager, 2011). Development and urban planning agendas are increasingly dominated by neoliberal principles, and as ‘the neoliberalisation of social, economic and political processes pervades urban development, planning and governance discourses and practices’ are pushed further into a market-oriented direction (Tasan-Kok, 2012: 1). The neoliberal discourse can be seen as a feature of the world-system theory, in which the primary strategy is to explain social change by focusing on whole inter-societal systems rather than single societies (McMichael, 2000). Because World Systems Theory is focused on interconnections between *core* countries (or city nodes) which is based on expansions of the capitalist world economy, it is not hard to draw parallels between the concepts of how global scale relationships between institutions impact individuals across the world intellectually, culturally, economically and politically.

Cities are actually becoming similar because of **policy-transfers**: policies are replicated across borders; planning practices are borrowed and replicated across borders (Roy, 2005: 147). Although place is important, the extent to which ‘systems of borrowing, reinterpreting, learning and building networks’ is practised on a global or international level is huge (Cochrane, 2011: xi). New urban policies today are applied quickly and without much evaluation: ‘contemporary

policy-making at all scales...involves constant scanning of the policy landscape, via professional publications and reports, the media, websites, blogs, professional contacts, and word of mouth for ready-made, off-the-shelf policies and best practices that can be quickly applied locally' (McCann & Ward, 2011: xiv). This is absolutely vital to recognise, because *we can be* those policy actors: those politicians, professionals, practitioners, activists, consultants and other individuals who transfer policies and knowledge through conferences, research trips, consultancy work, and other networking activities (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Stone, 1999; Stone, 2004; Evans, 2004). The profession needs to be aware that this is something they can take advantage of and use to build support networks.

3.3.2 *Before and After Neoliberalism*

After 1945, in countries such as Britain, Germany and Sweden, social-democratic governments had come to power as a democratic welfare state incorporating both capitalist and socialist practices. It was thought that State regulation was a sufficient means to ensure economic growth and a fair distribution of resources. However, a different school of thought to the Keynesian approach had reached its peak with the successful and popular book *Capitalism and Freedom* by Friedman (1962), who led the Chicago School known for vigorously promoting economic liberalism, which introduced viable economic arguments of how neoliberalism could be translated into political ideology. The political ideology would be adopted by conservative governments in the USA with Reagan and the UK with Thatcher. Their role had significant impacts on city development and also led to a huge decrease in public expenditure matched with increased dependency on the private sector. Previous hierarchical relationships shifted towards more fluid horizontal relationships and networks, reinforced by changes in governance, guided by privatisation and deregulation. Duties and projects previously undertaken by the State were then outsourced and managed by companies, communities or voluntary organisations. The move restructured what was seen as a rigid model of functional state hierarchies into an eclectic path of piecing together values and cultures. The city is now a thing of fragments, or 'bits and pieces' (Amin and Thrift, 1995). It has changed the way we view things, but perhaps has also resulted in an increasing fragmentation of responsibility, not only in the profession of archaeology, but within the entire scope of the urban area and its related industries, economy, politics and society. Those who embrace neoliberal initiatives see it as 'free market policies that encourage private enterprise and consumer choice, reward personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiative, and undermined the dead hand of the incompetent, bureaucratic, and parasitic government, which can never do good (even when well intentioned, which it rarely is)' (McChesney, 1999).⁴⁴ Whether supporter of neoliberalism or not, it has changed the way archaeology functions.

44 www.chomsky.info/onchomsky/19990401.htm retrieved March 2014

3.3.3 *Concerns for the Environment*

In response to the increasing neoliberal environments driven by market-based entrepreneurialism, social inequality and resource exploitation, we have seen the meta-narrative of *Sustainable Development* (Meadowcroft, 1999). Underlying notions promote equity, empowerment, and environmental awareness: the sustainable development (SD) discourse has become one of the central pillars of planning, not only in Britain but North America too (Raco, 2005: 326). The rise in SD discussion came during the 1970s and 1980s because of extensive academic work and environmentally focused reports by global institutions that raised the concern about the limit of growth and the environment (see McRobie, 1990; Schumacher, 1973; World Bank, 1989; World Commission for Environment and Development, 1988; World Conservation Union, 1991). Some of the key points raised related to the need for greater value of environmental resources and greater equity between social groups and communities by establishing new forms of democratic economic governance. The emphasis is still on ‘democratic empowerment, environmental conservation and social justice’ (Raco, 2005: 323): despite the politicisation of these realms that have led to policy changes, we must challenge the idea that output is *not* the same as outcome.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the global city is introduced through addressing main challenges and factors that shape and influence growing cities. The main point to get across here is that these cities have an urban culture, and that urban culture sets the stage in which relationships function. The international economy and the influence of large international organisations have shaped the life of cities and have equally altered the relation of cities to international forces. The question generally sought surrounds the issue of the agility of the local and small versus the robust generalised guidance and recommendations of the global, and how these may be adopted and channelled by local instruments. The question of governance in light of the neoliberal turn is a main concern as many emerging ‘reductionist policies’ fail to appreciate relationships between social and spatial structures, and have equally undermined growth and democracy.

Comparative urbanism is a systematic study, which sets out to develop an understanding and establish generalisations about the similarity and difference among cities and its processes, in a way that is true of one city, and all investigated cities at a particular point in time. It does not suggest that cities are not unique in their own way, but it follows the observation that in certain respects two or more cities can be very similar and follow similar trajectories.

The chapters so far provide a backdrop by introducing overarching themes (Chapter 1), the consideration of the individual and social capital (Chapter 2), and the impact of global city politics on the urban fabric (Chapter 3). All three chapters contribute to the coming observations

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that are discussed in the final chapters, by allowing us to reflect on current archaeological discourse related to frameworks and legal tools; the individual and their role in the historical development of city archaeology; and how local development is simultaneously influenced by neoliberal global policies changing the ways in which national systems renegotiate the planning system. In short, the processes raised in this chapter are focused on the *impacts to cities*, which inevitably can be used to understand various types of urban contexts, such as global cities, world cities, historic cities, towns and other such contexts.

In the coming chapters, I introduce the backgrounds of planning and archaeology in London and NYC and present the results, drawing on all the thoughts introduced in chapters so far. In both London and NYC, land has turned into a commodity. Although masterplans have emerged through legislation to inform a holistic vision of city planning, the reality is that development occurs through a piecemeal approach, like most global cities. Both cities are shaped by particular assumptions and paradigms of development that focus on development (or now, sustainably development) and economic growth rather than urban realities related to socio and environmental concerns.

4 Chapter Four: A Brief Background To London

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the organisations and legislation relevant to archaeology in London. The background of politics, planning and archaeology is presented in a unique way, enriching the basic skeletal history of legal frameworks and changing institutions with historical narratives offered by London archaeologists from the interviews. The following chapter then presents the results of London research.

It should be noted that these background chapters (Chapters 4 and 6) are only to provide a basic background for the following chapters presenting results, and so do not delve too deeply into the history.

4.2 A Chronological Background of Planning and the Growth of Archaeology

4.2.1 *Introducing London*

London, as one of the world's most prominent global cities, has a peculiar nature in terms of governance and planning, illustrated through its institutions being under constant reform and modernisation. The past forty to fifty years have seen successive governments attempt to resolve issues of governance, institutional structures and planning (Pimlott & Rao, 2002). 'It seems that London, governmentally and institutionally, is in a continual state of flux, searching for an institutional fix to govern and coordinate intervention, while arguing about the delineation of power to strategise the range of on-going economic, social and environmental problems and bring about change' (Tewdwr-Jones, 2009: 60). The following discussion introduces the significant events that have led to where planning and archaeology sit today.

London is the largest city in both the United Kingdom and in the European Union, with a population of over 8 million.⁴⁵ It is the 22nd most populated city in the world, slightly smaller than New York City which falls in at 20.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Based on the most recent 2011 census retrieved from <http://data.london.gov.uk/census>

⁴⁶ London is 607 square miles and NYC is 303 square miles meaning population density in NYC is double that of London

4.2.2 *The Planning System and Archaeology Before and After WW2*

The town and country planning system of Britain came from a string of incremental legislation. The first modern legislations to influence urban context were the *Housing and Town Planning Act 1909*, the *Housing and Town Planning Act 1919*, the *Town Planning Act 1925* and the *Town and Country Planning Act 1932*. The *1909 Act* highlighted local authorities' role to safeguard the public through intervention should they feel private enterprises performed any injustices. The first in relation to modern planning was the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* that immediately followed the Second World War, as concerns regarding industrialisation and urbanisation rose.⁴⁷ During the 1940s the comprehensive planning system was established (Thornley, 1991).

Robson (1941) observed in his book *The War and the Planning Outlook*:

In the two years that have elapsed since the outbreak of war an extraordinary change has taken place in the mental climate of this country on the question of town and country planning. For the first time the planning idea has suddenly become accepted as inevitable and necessary by large numbers of people belonging to all political parties and all classes of society.

The pillars of planning were to manage the process of urban development, and protect heritage from unwanted change (Gilg, 2005). Frederic Osborn, Secretary of the Town and Country Planning Association at the time, also had similar sentiments that change was needed, stating:

You've only got to look at where we went wrong in the past to see that it was always because we thought of one important thing and forgot others...after the last war we thought almost solely of a good family life and forgot about industry and community life (1948: 17).

Development rights and their associated values were nationalised by the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*, as all development proposals would need to secure planning permission from their **Local Planning Authority** (LPA) (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006: 196; Booth, 2002). In 1947 Britain was ruled by a Left wing Socialist government which in a number of Acts of Parliament set up the Welfare State in which the railways, coal, and electricity were nationalised, the NHS was set up, and crucially planning controls over land use were set up. In the *1947 Act* principal local authorities (i.e. London borough councils) were told to write Development Plans for all development in their area. It was expected that these councils would develop land for housing since any development by the private sector would be taxed at 100% thus making it unprofitable. In addition the Government set up a compensation fund for landowners who thought that they might have had a realistic chance of building on land prior to 1947 before planning permission began. The assumption was that the system expected the public sector (i.e.

⁴⁷ In British planning history, private property was dominant pre-WWII and also since 1979. The 1947 Act expropriated all the future urban private property rights of owners; any owner wanting to carry out development had to obtain planning permission from the LPA; those prevented are done so on the grounds of the Nuisance laws.

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local authorities) to be the main developers, not private (Gilg, 2005: 9).

One of the key objectives of the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* was to introduce a new planning system including new powers controls, which would overcome the defects of the previous system seen as ‘too static; too localised; [and] placed no enforceable obligation on local planning authorities to prepare schemes...’ (Fitzgerald, 1947: 404). The previous system was based on three Acts: the *Town and Country Planning Act, 1932*; the *Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) Act, 1943*, which extended interim development control throughout the country and enabled the Minister to override decisions of Local Authorities; and the *Town and Country Planning Act, 1944*, that had granted power for re-planning and rebuilding areas damaged by the war or considered useless. Except for sections of the *1944 Act* that were adopted into the *1947 Act*, all other Acts were repealed with the introduction of the *1947 Act*.

However in 1951 a Conservative Government was elected which slowly rolled back these socialist measures and gradually private housing began again but it was not until the 1960s that local council house building was overtaken by private housing.

During this time, the profession of archaeology was already in place, having started with the Ancient Monuments Act 1882, which not only appointed the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, General Pitt-Rivers, to report to the Commissioners of Works, but meant that ancient monuments had finally been put under the protection of the government and began establishing a separation from antiquarianism (Levine, 1986), which had already started to be a concern. The 1882 Act also scheduled the initial 68 sites across Great Britain, whether on private property or not. The Act was then modified in 1913, 1931 and 1953 (Jones, 1984: 31).

By the 1920s, Mortimer Wheeler (1957: 122), who was appointed Keeper of the London Museum in 1926, commented that there were ‘more than a couple of dozen professional archaeologists’ posted in the British Museum, the Office of Works, the Royal Commissions, the Victoria County History and a few within universities mostly in other departments and without supporting staff or laboratory facilities (Jones, 1984: 5). Because London as a leading city of development was seen as ‘the fatal obstacle to adequate research into ancient London’ (New York Times, 1928: 111), R.G. Collingdale (a leading authority on Roman Britain) had explained that ‘the Commission’s work on the study of Roman London [was] to look into the state of existing knowledge of all Roman remains’ with ‘no attempt to discover anything new’ but to ‘take all the material already at our disposal, arrange it, to think about it, and to try and make sense of it’ (The Observer, 1928: 20). Already at this time, archaeology was in the back seat to more important economic and political matters.

The Institute of Archaeology had been set up in 1937 with Sir Mortimer Wheeler as its first director. It was in fact ‘one of Wheeler’s many brainchild’ (pers. comm. Sheldon, 2012: 3) which he began putting together with his wife, Tessa, from 1926. It is one of the ‘major academic centres for archaeology in Britain’, as well as one of the largest archaeological

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departments in the world, and ‘from the outset, the importance of scientific techniques to the analysis of the past was seen as central and the focus throughout its history has largely been upon archaeological practice and technique...’ (Schofield et al., 2011: 35). The Institute’s creation was a critical step for London archaeology. Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries and Inspectorate of Monuments following General Pitt-Rivers, had said:

British archaeology...is working under a very serious handicap, which may be stated briefly as lack of adequate funds and adequate facilities for research. The idea that the work is completed when the excavation of a site is finished and a report published is quite erroneous...[we] must have facilities for careful examination of them....To remedy that defect the Institute of Archaeology was founded (Interview in the Observer, 1934: 27).

Among the Institute’s many mission statements is to ‘play a major role in furthering the understanding of London’s archaeological and historical past’⁴⁸ (the IoA is discussed further in Chapter 5).

Before and for some time after World War II, Government funds were used for the first time to pay for archaeological excavations (Cunliffe, 1994: 7). Archaeology was a ‘public interest growing’ with the number of archaeological posts increasing to ‘four times as many...as there were before the war [World War II]’ (Wheeler in The Observer, 1938: 23). After the Institute of Archaeology’s ‘Conference on the future of archaeology’ was held in 1943 and the Congress of Archaeological Societies’ response to the exposure of archaeological remains after the war, the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) was set up to ‘promote archaeology and co-ordinate research programmes and policy’ (Schofield et al., 2011: 32). The CBA gave the Society of Antiquaries the role of planning post-war investigation, which set up the Roman London Excavation Committee (later changed to Council) strongly supported by the Ministry of Works, which appointed W.F. Grimes as supervisor of excavations (Biddle et al., 1973: 6). The City Corporation sent their librarian to the Committee as a show of support. That said, the Corporation did appoint a staff member - a full-time excavation assistant - to the Guildhall Museum in 1949. ‘Shortage of cash and of bargaining power, and the decision to use only paid labour, conditioned the whole shape of the excavations’ during the 1940s and 50s (Biddle et al., 1973: 7):

...there was a time when archaeologists were thrown off the site, were not allowed on London sites in the late 1950s and 60s, in case they held up the work programme. And this was central in London and certainly many sites were destroyed. This was something that held back the excavation of sites, let alone the certainty of the research of sites, publication... The Corporation of London did however allow archaeologists on sites that they owned, and as it happens they own much of the City. So although the developers didn’t like archaeologists on the site, the Corporation, if it insisted, could ensure that archaeologists got access to some sites, even if the developers themselves weren’t prepared to pay for them. So from 1973 you had the government paying for archaeologists to work for a unit that could build its own agenda. So you have a budget of £100,000, you can do whatever you like, provided the Corporation could get you access to the site (pers. comm., Milne, 2012: 8).

48 See <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/about/history>

4.2.3 *The 1960s and Rescue Archaeology*

By the 1960s, post-war redevelopment had waned and development was overtaken by private housing, and accounted for 60% of all new housing (Gilg, 2005: 11). With a forecast of a dramatic rise in population, the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* was viewed as inefficient and a need for a new type of plan that would be more strategic and more useful for increased development, technologies and populations was emphasised (PAG report: Housing and Local Government, 1965). The *Town and Country Planning Act 1968* was released (and quickly consolidated into the *1971 Town and Country Act*).

Around this same time, under the *London Government Act 1963*, a new local government structure was created for London. Boroughs were categorised into inner and outer boroughs, and a two-tier Local Government system, with the setting-up of the Greater London Council (GLC), was organised to govern the newly established Greater London. This led to the abolition of the former counties of Middlesex and London, and included the absorption of parts of Kent, Essex and Surrey, making up what is now Greater London.⁴⁹ The City of London continued as it was, governed under the City of London Corporation, and operating in a very different bubble to the rest of Greater London.

The GLC was an elected council to govern the new area of Greater London. The creation of the London County Council (LCC) in 1889 had been the start to a genuine metropolitan authority, which was responsible for a variety of services, but the *London Government Act 1963* moved the power back into the hands of the London boroughs, and for the first time boroughs were responsible for the services in their patch. Despite moving power back to the boroughs, the reform had also set up the GLC. From the Act coming into effect in 1965 all the way to the GLC's abolition in 1986, a battle was played out debating quite explicitly whether London should be governed by a strong metropolitan authority or the boroughs, demonstrating how politics plays directly by whom or how planning is decided.

The GLC provided the archaeological service across a number of London boroughs where needed – not every borough had its own curatorial advisor. The City, Southwark, and Kingston were the exceptions.

The rise of the individual, public participation and community involvement made its way into the planning system, reflected in the Skeffington Report (MHLG, 1969), the first concerted effort to encourage participation in the decision-making process of planning. However, it was the Walsh Report (1969: 49) that illustrated government's tensions with the explosion of private development. Regarding archaeology, the Report made a telling statement in question to the developer pays issue that was being considered at the time:

49 This is something to keep in mind as we see how these structural changes alter the territory of already established local archaeological societies, and to this day issues about borders continue.

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We examined a suggestion that the cost of “rescue” excavations should be charged statutorily to the developer – a course advocated on the Continent...we cannot support the suggestion because we believe that the British practice of providing for the conduct of excavations from public funds, or by the use of voluntary effort, is fairer in that the evidence they yield is to the public benefit. The alternative method is an incentive to concealment, and although this may occur at present to some extent, it is less likely to be widespread if the principle of willing agreement is adhered to....

...there are cases where the landowner or developer is not prepared to give the necessary facilities...we would stress the importance of good relationships with development contractors.... (1969: 49)

These two reports illustrate the paradigm of the time: participation, public benefit, and the notion that archaeological remains were of value and should not be left to destruction by profit-driven private developers. However, during the 50s and 60s development had already become increasingly dependent on developers for funding (Backwell & Dickens, 1978). Ministerial guidelines in *Town Centres: Approach to Renewal* issued by central government had realised:

Renewal cannot be undertaken without public support and it cannot be carried through without private enterprise. There is increasing evidence of readiness by private developers to collaborate with local authorities... (MHLG, 1962: 6).

While planning was juggling issues of public support and private funding, archaeology was concluding an era of post-war excavations that had been conducted by the Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council. With no new structure to take over from the Council, archaeological work was done on an ad hoc basis (Biddle et al., 1973). The Guildhall Museum – through the excavation assistant of the time, Peter Marsden, had continued works with the help of volunteers; the Ministry of Public Building and Works did some excavations; and volunteers invaluable contributed. Some of those volunteers then formed the City of London Excavation Group, which became the City of London Archaeological Society in 1966.⁵⁰

As mentioned earlier in Milne’s quote, funding and access were an issue, as developers were reluctant to allow ‘just anyone’ onto their site, not recognising archaeology as a profession (Biddle et al., 1932: 8).

However, with the rise in public attention of archaeology, the rapid growth of development in the city, and the rescue movement gaining momentum, the *Museum of London Act* was passed in 1965. The *1965 Act* established a Board of Governors of the Museum of London; to transfer to them the collections of the London Museum and of the Guildhall Museum; and the benefit of certain funds. The Act may have further been encouraged by the discovery of the Huggin Hill bath-house in 1964. The Board was to be appointed by the Prime Minister, the Corporation of London and the City of London (the Museum of London would open December 1976). It was believed ‘the Museum of London will at last make possible some worthy display of London treasures...[which] in the present home of the London Museum...only about a third of its

50 See http://www.colas.org.uk/documents/A-about_COLAS.html

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possessions are on view and the rest are stored in the basement...' (The Guardian, 1963: 6). The London Museum, based in Kensington Palace, was only a temporary location offered by King George VI and extended by the Queen in 1970, and the Guildhall Museum had mostly Roman finds which could be a happy marriage to the collection at the London Museum. Furthermore, the costs would be divided by the City of London, The Exchequer and the City Corporation, a partnership that would be more fruitful (The Guardian, 1964: 3). However, the making of the Museum of London was not only a public need: as London was growing internationally, it was equally understood that the city needed its own museum, like many other international cities (Gospodini, 2002: 67).

4.2.4 *The 1970s: The Future of London's Past*

With planning and development booming in the 1960s, London's archaeology was left conducted without much structure. Important publication work, such as Heighway's *The Erosion of History* in 1972 and Rahtz's *Rescue Archaeology* in 1974 highlighted the emergency state that archaeology was in as the rescue revolution came to a peak (e.g. Hudson, 1981; Jones, 1984; Wainwright, 2000; Schofield et al, 2011; Aitchison, 2011). Archaeologists joined forces and in 1971 saw the establishment of *RESCUE: the British Archaeology Trust*, a pressure group set on rescuing and salvaging threatened sites, and fulfilling a remit that the Council of British Archaeology (set up in 1944) could not take on because its remit actually excluded it from carrying out excavation and other work (Hudson, 1981). Archaeologists began to mobilise and receive strong public attention, perhaps because the 1970s property boom had caused a 'sharp upturn in development activity' as developers were encouraged through finance schemes and profits from rising land prices (McGill, 1995: 238). In an article published in 1975 by one of archaeology's charismatic leaders of the time, Martin Biddle announced:

Four years ago British archaeologists emerged, belatedly, from their Age of Complacency to meet a challenge from an alien culture – the property developers and road builders...The archaeologists...founded Rescue in January 1971...two thousand people joined Rescue in its first 18 months. Julian Amery, then Minister for Housing, more than doubled Government funds for rescue archaeology from £210,000 a year to £480,000 in 1972-73...(Biddle, 1975)

Public interest and a strong rescue movement had gotten the attention from the public through the media, and eventually of the government. The controversial destruction of sites such as Baynard's Castle in the City (1972) and the New Palace Yard excavation in front of Westminster (1973) without allowing proper examination would cause another public outcry (pers. comm., Biddle, 2012: 9; Jones, 1984: 54-57). Harvey Sheldon,⁵¹ a pioneer of rescue archaeology, recounts:

51 Currently Honorary Research Fellow at Birkbeck. Previously Head of DGLA; worked for the Ministry of Works. Known for his role in the Rose Theatre controversy.

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Biddle was a big figure...known as “The Bishop”...[he] got a lot of TV coverage and also worked on a book with colleagues about the threat to the city. The city, essentially, announced more or less, that it was going to fund the local museum to set up a department to do the archaeology. Which was much in advance of the one-man field officer, which had characterised it since the war (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2012: 14)

The structure was changing, needing to respond quickly to rapid changes in the urban fabric. The 70s were a key period for planning and a radically new system emerged (Gilg, 2005). The decade began under Tory rule: liberal-conservative Prime Minister Ted Heath supported unions and also launched the Department of the Environment (DoE),⁵² which was to become the principal funding body of archaeology during the 1970s. ‘Under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Environment the central theme of the DoE [was] to protect and improve the environment of England’ (McGill, 1995: 88): it established regional archaeological organisations that were funded from Local Authorities, developers and central government, which meant no longer would there be the direct link between the Inspectorate and fieldwork (Aitchison, 2011: Location 540). As local government was reorganised in 1974, individual counties became more involved, financially and otherwise, in the execution of fieldwork although local government was not happy with being told, unexpectedly, to fund archaeology (Jones, 1984).

The climate and enthusiasm led to the formation of urban teams during the late 60s and 70s. Laura Schaaf⁵³ recalls that ‘the 70s was a patchwork of small teams, informal and formal structures...most people knew each other. There wasn’t really the kind of competition that came in later because people were working largely in geographical areas’ (pers. comm., Schaaf, 2012: 18). As part of the rescue archaeology movement (which was coming to an end during the mid-1970s), various archaeological teams had developed around London. These included the Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA), which was based at the Guildhall Museum, Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee (SLAEC), Surrey Archaeological Society’s South-West London Archaeological Unit (SWLAU), the West London Archaeological Unit (WLAU) which came out of the London Museum, the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society’s (LAMAS) team, and the Inner London Archaeological Unit (ILAU). North East boroughs were covered by the Passmore Edwards Museum (Newham Borough Council) and Southeast boroughs by Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.

Sheldon recalls:

...the various archaeological teams – in the sense of ‘units’ covering groups of London Boroughs - were set up as a result of individual initiatives between c. 1972 and c. 1975. London’s museums, County Archaeological Societies and ‘Excavation

52 The DoE was created by combining the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Public Building and Works in 1970. The Ministry of Works, as it is known, had been responsible for the upkeep of Ancient Monuments from the 1880s, looking into research of any historic or archaeological structures.

53 Schaaf worked with the London Borough of Southwark in the 1970s; Managed archaeological teams in Southwark and Lambeth and North London as part of DGLA. In the 90s until retirement worked in MOLAS. Now involved with the IfA, LAMAS, SLAEC, and various other archaeological affiliations.

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Committees' took the lead in this.

Once established, in the case of some teams at least, as much of the basic annual funding came from the individual boroughs, quite a lot of effort was required to ensure continuity - perhaps survival is a better word - from one financial year to the next! Changes in political control, priorities, resources available, individual councillors support, were likely to be factors that affected individual boroughs support (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2014: 40).

Sheldon describes units during the mid-70s as being set up, 'largely at the impetus of county societies' covering different, but not all, of the Greater London boroughs (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2012: 15). Jones, in his book *Rescue Archaeology*, explains how the 70s saw 'a group of younger archaeologists, dismayed by the lack of progress in the cause of rescue work at a period of unprecedented opportunity', turn to national campaigns and the need for non-academic action (1984: 51). Seventies British culture and society have been described as 'a decade when different groups attempted, in their different ways, to effect change for the better', as well as a 'revolution in consciousness' (Forster & Harper, 2010: 5): a fitting environment for the Rescue revolution of the 70s, one of the greatest single changes ever of British Archaeology (Jones, 1984; see Section 3.2.1).

Dominic Perring⁵⁴ recounts:

We enjoyed the Rescue heroic era of archaeology, where we were working for the public good. We were working with the public, we were uncovering new pasts, we were making big strides in our knowledge. It was because we were confronting the despoilers of the past, the horrible developers, the planning bureaucrats, and it was through our individual heroic achievements that we were winning and rescuing from the ground these great achievements. You can't have that sense of heroic endeavour in a world where we are structured, funded, competitive and so on; and we have become an industry and a business rather than a cause. It's very difficult to remake it into a cause, except by destroying the advantages we've gained, by putting in place the bricks of an environment which supports health and safety, career progression...not glamorous career progression, not heroic, but there. It's the nuts and bolts. I don't think we can go back. To go back would be to surrender territory (pers. comm., Perring, 2013: 60).

He continues that:

...Archaeology in the 60s and early 70s didn't employ that many people, it wasn't a significant profession... So we went through this exponential growth. The rate of growth in the early 70s was phenomenal. And it created this new platform of people who hadn't got ancestors whose approaches needed to be respected: we could be dismissive of the past. We also came in on the wake of New Archaeology, which also had this idea that we were rejecting former intellectual paradigms as well. And it's this mix of it being a new profession, iconoclastic and destroying the ridiculous practices of our predecessors. You can only go through such revolutions once, really. The rejection of the authorities of the previous generations, the opening up of how we did things, it felt big. It felt like a big deal (pers. comm., Perring, 2013: 61).

⁵⁴ Current Director of Archaeology Southeast, Centre for Applied Archaeology. Principal Research Fellow and Course Co-ordinator at the IoA; Previously Head of GLAAS, EH from 1990-1995; and Archaeologist at Worcester City Council and Museum of London.

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And it was big. It was a ‘service to the nation’ where archaeologists were ‘serving, rescuing literally, the archaeological heritage for prosperity’ (pers. comm., Thomas, 2013: 14). That same rhetoric and sentiment was held in the international arena as well, demonstrated by the release of many documents on cultural heritage protection.⁵⁵

Planning was developing as a direct consequence of ideological changes in society and major reform of local government. Harris (1972) suggests the post-war period saw a battle in government between supporters of the free market and supporters of state involvement, but that a middle ground was being sought. The *Town and Country Planning Act 1971* introduced two key elements: Structure Plans, which would provide the framework for the second element, Local Plans. To help with Structure Plans, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1970) prepared a manual on Development Plans and DoE circulars (i.e. one relevant Circular to mention is DoE Circular 11/95: *Use of conditions in planning permission* which mentions development should consider surrounding material considerations in relation to archaeological sites, which we discuss later through PPG16).

The emerging practice of developing partnerships with private enterprise through negotiation, with the objective of creating a community for the public’s wellbeing, was helpful in creating an atmosphere that benefitted archaeologists in getting access to urban sites at that time, as it was not always easy.

Further complications were introduced when the *Health and Safety at Work Act 1974* would provide further grounds for some developers to limit access because access means ‘developers are absorbing the cost of delay’ (Aitchison, 2011: Location 606; pers. comm., Whytehead, 2012: 6; see above pers. comm. by Milne, 2012: 8). Archaeologists needed to ensure that the premises and tools were in proper working condition and most importantly that a ‘proper system of working’ was enforced (Drewett, 1999). It was not a perfect relationship, and as the economy grew, conflicts between developers and communities grew due to rapid developments changing landscapes, and so the pressures of planning had to be further addressed. For archaeologists it had boiled down to the power of influence, to negotiate access to sites. Jon Cotton⁵⁶ recalls:

[In] the old days...archaeology was very much a rescue, fire-fighting operation. It wasn’t part of the planning process. You virtually had to sit across tables and persuade developers who were about to develop sites to spend money on something they didn’t want to spend money on. It was a process of bluff really. Unless they provided us with access and, even better, funding to undertake the archaeology, they would be cast in a

55 Examples of documents published during the late 60s/early 70s include: Final Report on the Preservation and Utilization of Monuments and Sites of Artistic and Historical Value (1967); Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works (1968); Recommendations on the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and National Heritage (1972); Introduction of Contemporary Architecture into Ancient Groups of Buildings (1972); Protection of World Heritage (1972); The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975); Declaration of Amsterdam (1975); Conservation of smaller historic towns (1975); Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976); Charter of Cultural Tourism (1976)

56 Worked in DGLA from 1980 to 1991; Senior Curator at the MoL from 1991 to 2011; currently a freelance archaeological consultant

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bad light by local press and local TV, or whatever. That was about the only card archaeologists had to play in those days; together with a very strong link with local communities. Ironically, we've come back to community archaeology, but after archaeology itself - the professional archaeology - has gone through several crises (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 4).

As mentioned earlier, the Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) was set up in 1973 as a department of the Museum of London (MoL), being active before the museum building actually opened in 1976 (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2012: 15; Barker, 1973; Schofield et al., 2011). It was established specifically as a result of the Rescue movement to cover the City of London. Jenny Hall,⁵⁷ who was a Senior Curator at the MoL for 37 years, recounts:

The DUA was the unit formed in 1973...They were working on site in the city, and the Museum was working hard opening the Museum of London. We were trying to choose objects to display. So archaeology was just there, we were aware of it, but we were so focused on getting the Museum open... (pers. comm., Hall, 2012: 1)

Also at this time, in 1975 the DoE's Central Excavation Unit was set up to fill the gap that other organisations could not do due to lack of resources. It was staffed entirely by paid professionals (Hudson, 1981; Schofield et al., 2011; Aitchison, 2011). The GLC had equally started to pay attention to the needs of archaeology, recalled Sheldon:

Putting archaeology and development on a London-wide, regional, basis seemed the best way forward to ensure financial stability as well as to improve coverage. The GLC, with their regional role were pivotal to this...the institution moved from a position in the mid-1970s when its attitude to archaeology, even on its own developments was rather passive, to one of promoting an integrated "archaeological service" for London by the end of the decade (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2014: 60) .

By the end of the 1970s and moving into the 1980s, one of the most significant developments was that archaeological work was now being done alongside local planning authorities, who would work together to identify sites under threat during development. 'The considered selection of priority tasks and the employment of greater management skills in marshalling and exploiting resources made a significant impact on the achievement of proper local, at times even regional, co-ordination' (Jones, 1984: 145). Archaeologists, by the end of the 1970s, knew that they would have to establish relationships with planners and developers (e.g. pers. comm., Chitty, 2014: 21; Jones, 1984: 145).

4.2.5 The 1980s: The Decade Leading Up To Archaeology Under Planning Laws

During the turn of the decade the main issue surrounding archaeology was a question of finance.

57 Senior Roman Curator at the MoL from 1974 – 2011; Currently Specialist consultant with Independent Museums and Institutions Professionals (Roman London Enterprises) and Honorary Lecturer at the IoA

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The days of the Rescue movement were over, and the costs of archaeology would be ‘actively and hostilely questioned’ (Jones, 1984: 147). With the *1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act*, the government had recognised ‘there has been considerable expenditure on rescue archaeology for many years’ (Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill, 1979: § 1360).⁵⁸ It also consolidated and amended the law relating to ancient monuments: it made provisions for the investigation, preservation and recording of matters of archaeological or historical interest and for the regulation of operations or activities affecting such matters; and provided for the recovery of grants (Aitchison, 2011)

...The system was changing and that was partly to do with developer funding in the 80s, where the developers were being more or less forced by pressure to actually take some bloody responsibility for the sites that were being destroyed, some of that being financial (pers. comm., Sheldon, 2012: 12).

The developments were in line with those affecting the entire country. Thatcherite London was the capital of a country suffering: the old order had disintegrated, and a city and a nation were willing to try something new and unchartered, and social change brought new people, with unconventional attitudes, to the fore (Hall, 1998: 939). Thatcher’s 80s also led to the end of virtually all of the anti-London planning policies (see Section 4.2.2) that had dominated the government during earlier decades (Hebber, 1998). Her government did not believe in the planning ideologies since 1945, and instead used public money to stimulate private investment in new enterprises. ‘A major step in Thatcher’s neoliberalisation and globalisation of London was financial deregulation...which attracted international firms interested in international banking rather than in servicing the needs of the British economy...’ (Ancien & Moulaert, 2013: 73). It was a decade characterised by the neoliberalisation of Britain’s public policy, the financialisation and internationalisation of London’s economy, and its increasing detachment from the rest of the United Kingdom, economically and politically. The 1986 ‘Big Bang’ and the deregulation of financial markets were symbolic to a huge economic and political shift (Ancien & Moulaert, 2013) (see Section 3.3.2). On visiting London’s Archaeological Archive Research Centre (the LAARC), one can see the explosion and effect of deregulations manifested by an overwhelmingly disproportionate amount of shelves allocated to artefacts found during development from the 1980s.

When the Labour Party won control of the GLC in 1981, the campaign to abolish the GLC grew, with Conservative-controlled boroughs and central government against the socialist activities of the GLC. The power rivalry was intense: the GLC had no support from the London Borough Association, which split the association and prompted Labour Boroughs to form their own association, the Association of London Authorities.

While the political strife continued, the GLC had meanwhile been negotiating with all the local

58 See <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1979/apr/04/ancient-monuments-and-archaeological>

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archaeological units of Greater London in 1982 and had set up the Department of Greater London Archaeology (DGLA), which would be a Department of the Museum of London, with some funding from the GLC. Gill Chitty⁵⁹ comments:

Prior to the GLC taking over the funding for the service, there'd been a kind of federal arrangement in London where there were a significant number of different so-called archaeological units: Southwark and Lambeth, a north London one, a southwest London one. They'd been funded by Local Authorities in a fairly piecemeal kind of way, plus developer funding. There are 33 local authority boroughs in London...so they were all set up slightly differently and there was no consistency of practice. There was quite a degree of competitiveness, I should say, between different units across London area and there was some boroughs that didn't have any coverage at all, or at least very sketchy. So the negotiations that set out the service, the idea of a unified across-the-board single service of London, all took place...⁶⁰

It was a big investment for the GLC. And a big investment for archaeology. It was just under a million pounds a year to run the service effectively. To take on the core staff of each of the archaeology units - It meant a lot to them because they'd been working very much hand-to-mouth, year to year, not knowing whether they'd be able to keep their staff on. So the idea of the GLC undertaking to fund the service, I think it was for a three year period, gave them the kind of stability they needed to develop systems and approaches and a much more professional approach, if you like.

You have to remember this is a very very rapid period of growth in Rescue archaeology from the 70s through to the early/mid-80s. Suddenly developer-funding came on big time, and it came on big time in London before anywhere else of course, because that's where the money was being spent. So it was a real grave period and there was a need to give it a structure. The GLC took on that funding from the London Boroughs and the service was an aggregation of the separate units brought together under one umbrella, nationally funded in a single programme. But it was pretty paper-thin to begin with because it was literally five different organisations just brigaded together. They were all separate charities. They all had their own governance and they had their own staff. So, it was a little bit of smoke and mirrors I would say, with the best of intentions to create a single unified service. And of course what happened was three years on in '86, Thatcher wound up the Metropolitan Authorities so the GLC was disbanded (pers. comm., Chitty, 2014: 2).

During the 1980s, the local government functions were still executed by each borough council (the principal local authority), including planning⁶¹ (Section 4.2.3). The Corporation of London (with jurisdiction over the City of London) also continued to play a big role in funding archaeological endeavours, such as the Guildhall Museum, the Museum of London, and the DUA. By this time, during the 1980s, the DUA had flourished alongside the property boom.

...Brian Hobley, he ran with DUA, and was...looking after himself and making his empire, the DUA, better than the museum. But saying that he did bring it together and drive it along...But the DUA at one point just got too big for their boots. They were digging, publishing, and starting to do displays either on-site or for the developers,

59 Inspector of Ancient Monuments in EH from 1986 to 1992; Principal consultant at Hawkshead Archaeology and Conservation from 1992 to 2006; Head of Conservation for CBA from 2005 to 2012; Currently Director of Conservation Studies at University of York.

60 See Section 4.2.4 quote by Sheldon (pers. comm., 2014: 60)

61 London boroughs are different from other parts of the UK, as it is a 1-tier government system (unitary) instead of the 2 tiers of local government elsewhere (county council and district/borough/city councils). See <https://www.gov.uk/understand-how-your-council-works/types-of-council> for more detail.

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which was rather encroaching on what the museum might do. So that got a bit difficult at times (pers. comm., Orton, 2012: 7; also see pers. comm., Hall, 2013: 33).

A lot of the comments that surround the days of the DUA talk about how it was all down to persuasion, and having that one-to-one relationship with developers (see pers. comm., Schaaf, 2013: 15, 17, 19; pers. comm., Orton, 2013: 12). The archaeological units had begun to offer both curatorial advice and contractual work to developers, and had developed quite close relationships (Chitty, 2014: 5). The role of the individual in driving organisations, and the relationships between groups, played a big part in increasing archaeology's recognition in the city (Chapter 5). Meanwhile, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (known as English Heritage) was set up under the *National Heritage Act 1983* to secure and promote the preservation, enhancement and conservation of ancient monuments, historic buildings and conservation areas, as well as ensure public enjoyment of these areas.⁶²

However, without going into full detail of the struggle (see Kosecik & Kapucu, 2008), the GLC was stripped of its functions little by little, with the Government calling the GLC wasteful.⁶³ In the end, despite the Government's arguments that the GLC should be abolished having no research-driven justification, the *Local Government Act 1985* abolished the Greater London Council (and six English Metropolitan County Councils) on the grounds of inefficiency: its responsibilities were then transferred over to various successors, such as special purpose agencies, committees or bodies, as well as the London Boroughs.

Gill Chitty, Head of the GLC Archaeology Service at the time, comments:

Ken Livingstone was a radical man, the leader of the Council. It was a left-wing authority, a very strong Labour authority. Part of the political motivation disbanding the Metropolitan Authority was that they all were very very strong Labour authorities which Heseltine and the Thatcher government didn't really get on with. They were huge power-bases. All the Metropolitan Authorities were extremely wealthy authorities because they were big conurbations with massive populations. So suddenly there was political motivations in dismantling the Met Authorities. Archaeology is always so low down along the political agendas, I don't think it was a big deal really, the idea of archaeology going into English Heritage. It wasn't just archaeology, English Heritage took on the whole of the historic building division of the GLC that was about 40 staff, plus the service.

The Bill was fast-tracked, hardly any debate, because it needed an act of parliament to dissolve the Metropolitans...The government was just looking for a very easy bolt on solutions that it could use to ensure continuity for employment for staff and of services that had to just finish on the 31st of March, and be up and running on the 1st of April, within a matter of a few months. So I think English Heritage just stepped in and

62 Definitions are laid out in the Act: "ancient monuments" means any structure, work, site [(including any site comprising, or comprising the remains of, any vehicle, vessel, aircraft or other movable structure or part thereof)] garden or areas which in the Commission's opinion is of historic, architectural, traditional, artistic or archaeological interest; "conservation area" means an area designated as a conservation areas under [section 67 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990]; "historic buildings" means any building which in the Commission's opinion is of historic or architectural interest. See National Heritage Act 1983: Article 32-38

63 A Government White Paper issued in 1983 'Streamlining the cities: Government proposals for reorganising local government in Greater London and the Metropolitan counties' argued that London Boroughs provided most local services, so the GLC's existence could not be justified.

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offered to run the service for London. It was probably seen as a neat solution for the government, and a very safe pair of hands of course (pers. comm., Chitty, 2014: 3).

‘English Heritage stepped in to fill a vacuum’ (also see pers. comm., Hinton, 2012: 34), a move that is still in place today. Leach and Game (1991: 141) say that this *1985 Act* was arguably the ‘single most controversial piece of legislation’ of the Thatcher government, leaving London as the only western capital without an elected city government.

The 1980s were also a period of ‘much greater awareness for the need for complex urban archaeology’ (pers. comm., Williams, 2012: 5), and this demand fed into the development of different organisations and also opened the door for new techniques and practices to change both standards and the organisational structure. Some archaeologists felt archaeology needed a professional body, and so, in 1982, the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA), originally named the Institute of Field Archaeologists, was founded (it changed its name in 2008 from ‘field’ to ‘for’ after much debate, to emphasise that it was a professional body for *all* archaeologists, involved in the actual field or not; and more recently changed from IfA to CIfA after becoming Chartered). But the initial name of ‘field’ is in fact revealing: at this time, archaeology was booming, but that boom was on-site in cities. The heroic archaeologists gaining way with the public and politicians were the ones out there rescuing and saving what was being destroyed. As we heard from Perring earlier, archaeologists were breaking away from the old school of what an archaeologist was and re-inventing themselves (pers. comm., 2013: 61). They were beyond the old-school archaeologists of universities. John Schofield,⁶⁴ Head of DUA in the late 1980s, comments:

...looking back on the last three to four decades, the academics had nothing to do with urban archaeology. They were indifferent. They were teaching prehistory, the joys of Syria and Jordan and all that jazz. There is no academic influence whatsoever on the development of London archaeology in the 70s and 80s. It was run by the Museum - some clever people - and us, the dirt archaeologists, who created the discipline ourselves...

...academia didn’t appreciate that. They didn’t see that we were the cutting edge of the subject. Now, we have partly infiltrated them of course...

...I can’t think of any direct interest or involvement of any academic in London archaeology in the 70s or 80s...there was never any seminar on urban archaeology, not for 30 years. And they were spewing out graduates, some of which they gave to us. There was no view in the Institute [of Archaeology] that maybe they should prepare them by getting a dirt-stained muddy archaeologist along to tell them how it would be. So at that level there was no dialogue at all. Maybe that was as much our fault as theirs. We had our head down the trench holes. But I do feel that we worked out how to deal with urban archaeology. Look at all the formative documents of the 70s and 80s, they all come first out of the profession. And then government gets dragged along (pers. comm., Schofield, 2012: 21).

64 Archaeology Officer, Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London (Head of DUA) 1989; Head of Publications, Museum of London Archaeology Service (1991); Academic Editor, Museum of London Archaeology Service (1993)

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While Schofield is quite forthright here, it is not entirely true. Despite the waning of leading figures from the Rescue movement, many of the individuals and many of the reports and publications that were mentioned earlier came out of academia. While ‘academic advisory committees were abolished in the attack on “quangos”’ (Jones, 1984: 149) in the early 1980s, there were still relatively strong links between particular individuals and academic institutions. Clive Orton,⁶⁵ for example, was IoA staff and senior editor since 1976 of journal *London Archaeologist*, an invaluable publication and contribution to London archaeology. Other links are very apparent: Phillip Barker from Birmingham University led RESCUE; Grimes who had been Director of the IoA was also a Chairman of English Heritage until the late 1970s; even beyond individuals, institutions stand out such as York, Cardiff, Southampton, Bournemouth, Oxford and Sheffield, for example, for their contribution to the professionalisation of archaeology as many universities have or had archaeological units (including the IoA’s Archaeology South-East under the Directorship of Dominic Perring). While many of these have recently been under threat of closure (pers. comm., Sidell, 2012: 15), a few still remain.

In 1988 the *Local Government Act* introduced the compulsory tendering of contracts to provide a competitive market in terms of services and costs: it required public agencies to put certain services out to competitive tender, and to award the work to the contractor who best met specified criteria. This had a profound effect on the way that archaeology restructured itself in the 1990s. This move to compulsory tendering alongside the principle of polluter’s pay changed archaeology significantly, allowing units to bid against each other for contracts, hence changing the structure completely.

The idea of polluters pay had been around informally during the 1970s and 80s already. Also, it was picking up momentum internationally through the European Union Environment Committee (now called the Environment Policy Committee) who was exploring the ‘polluter pays principle’.⁶⁶ The principle first appeared in a legal context in a document prepared by the international *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD) with the following recommendation:

The principle to be used for allocating costs of pollution prevention and control measures to encourage rational use of scarce environmental resources and to avoid distortions in international trade and investment is the so-called ‘Polluter Pays principle’. *This principle means that the polluter should bear the expenses of carrying out the above mentioned measures decided by public authorities to ensure that the environment is in an acceptable state.* In other words, the cost of these measures should be reflected in the costs of goods and services which cause pollution in production and/or consumption...(OECD, 1972)

65 Pottery Specialist; Emeritus Professor in Quantitative Archaeology, UCL; Senior Editor of *London Archaeologist*

66 See Recommendation of the Council on Guiding Principles concerning International Economic Aspects of Environmental Policies

<http://acts.oecd.org/Instruments/ShowInstrumentView.aspx?InstrumentID=4&InstrumentPID=255&Lang=en&Book=False>

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After 1972 it was put into the Community Environmental Action Programme (which sets out forthcoming legislative proposals on EU environmental policy) in 1973 and 1976; and, in 1992, the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* (UNEP, 1992: Principle 13: Compensation for Victims of Pollution and Other Environmental Damage; Principle 16: Internalization of Environment Costs) stated that ‘States shall develop national law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage’ and that ‘the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to the public interest...’.

These international legal frameworks alongside the development of national policies meant the planning system continued to see many changes. Modifications in the late 80s and early 90s led to new policy advice documents, known as Planning Policy Guidance Notes (PPGs).

The 1980s ended with one of the most controversial excavations, which would lead to a change in structure and attitude at the start of the 1990s. The 1988/89 Rose Theatre controversy in Southwark sparked a public outcry that embarrassed government. It highlighted the absence of archaeological assessment before determining planning permission, and of curatorial oversight for Greater London (e.g. pers. comm., Sheldon, 2013: 13, 26-28; Biddle, 1989; Wainwright, 1989; Sheldon, 1990; Corfield, 2012; Schofield et al, 2011). The Museum of London, which was the leading authority of advice and excavation at the time, had advised the London Borough of Southwark that planning permission could go ahead, and so it was granted. The developers had given the MoL permission to conduct a routine excavation, however as time went on, it was clear that the development would damage the theatre (known to be there from Ordnance Survey and Sites and Monuments Records). Through a mixture of an unprecedented public campaign with key involvement of very prominent public figures, great media interest, growing English Heritage and Museum of London tensions, the ‘saga of saving the Rose [had become] complex and stressful’ and ‘aroused so much emotion’ (Wainwright, 1989: 435). The MoL team would have to pass responsibility to finish the excavation to EH’s Central Excavation Unit (see Section 5.2.1.1). There was no legal framework that would deal with compensation in light of unexpected discoveries, and EH was put in a difficult situation. The controversy opened eyes in terms of the Greater London structure, and pushed forward archaeology being placed in the planning system through PPG16, but also established the Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service (GLAAS) within English Heritage, removing curatorial powers from the MoL, which had also been seen as a conflict of interest in terms of their two roles as curator *and* excavation unit.

4.2.6 *The 1990s: Planning and Archaeology Merge*

By the early 1990s, the limitations of the single-tier model for London government (a result of the abolition of the GLC) was evident. Boroughs lacked broader strategic vision and could not coordinate their work on London-wide issues (e.g. transport, strategic planning or economic development). The *Town and County Planning Act 1990* (TCPA) introduced Section 106 agreements: these enabled Local Authorities to require developers to make contributions to mitigate the impacts of developments. Following the TCPA, perhaps the most significant document produced by the UK Government on archaeology was issued: the *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* (PPG16) introduced November 1990.

Some of the key issues set out in PPG16, which changed the way archaeology was approached in the UK, included (my italics):

6. Archaeological remains should be seen as a *finite* and *non-renewable resource*, in many cases highly fragile and vulnerable to damage and destruction. *Appropriate management* is therefore essential to ensure that they survive in good condition. In particular, care must be taken to *ensure that archaeological remains are not needlessly or thoughtlessly destroyed*.

The document starts with the recognition that archaeological remains are ‘finite’, ‘non-renewable’, ‘fragile’ and ‘vulnerable’, and suggests mitigation.

14. Both central government and English Heritage have important roles to play... But the key to the future of the great majority of archaeological sites and historic landscapes lies *with local authorities*, acting within the framework set by central government, in their various capacities as planning, education and recreational authorities, as well as with the owners of sites themselves.

Here Local Authorities are emphasised as the main bodies making the decisions.

18. The desirability of preserving an ancient monument and its setting is *a material consideration* in determining planning... Developers and local authorities should take into account archaeological considerations and deal with them from *the beginning of the development control process*. Where local planning authorities are aware of a real and specific threat to a known archaeological site...they may wish to consider...to withdraw those rights and to require specific planning permission to be obtained before development can proceed.

Most important here is that archaeology is defined as a material consideration. PPG1 *General Policy and Principles 1992* and Section 26 of the *Planning and Compensation Act 1991*, draw attention to ‘material considerations’; the latter states that there is ‘a presumption *in favour* of development proposals which are in accordance with the development plan unless material considerations dictate otherwise’.

23. Planning authorities should also ensure that they are fully informed about the nature and importance of the archaeological site and its setting. *They should therefore seek archaeological advice, normally from the County Archaeological Officer or equivalent who in turn may wish to consult locally based museums and archaeological units and societies*. The case for the preservation of archaeological remains must however be *assessed on the individual merits of each case...*

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It is interesting that the guidance suggests seeking advice from ‘local’ practitioners, somewhat contradicting the principles of competitive tendering that allowed bids from anywhere within the EU.

28. There will no doubt be occasions, *particularly where remains of lesser importance are involved*, when planning authorities may decide that *the significance of the archaeological remains is not sufficient when weighed against all other material considerations*, including the need for development, to justify their physical preservation in situ, and that the proposed development should proceed....planning authorities will, in such cases, *need to satisfy themselves* that the developer has made appropriate and satisfactory arrangements for the excavation and recording of the archaeological remains and the publication of the results.

This article demonstrates that the authority and power really relies on the planning authorities, and that it is actually under their discretion whether archaeology is ‘significant’ or not. It also emphasises the promotion of sustainable economic growth, and how planning should not be an impediment to growth.

PPG16 still resonates strongly with archaeologists; because of it archaeology legally became a material consideration in planning decisions. It became a part of the planning system, a status that proved to be a massive milestone.

Staying with the 90s, the DUA and DGLA were amalgamated into the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) in 1991 after the Big Bang crash in hope that amalgamation would be more cost effective, and competed alongside other emerging contractors. Many of the contractors that emerged through the competitive tendering requirement started with individuals who had worked or had some affiliation with the DUA/DGLA/MoLAS. This was a major change in the organisational landscape of London as what had been a central London hub in terms of concentrating expertise, skill, information and resources became fragmented into different groups. The advantage and opportunities that were provided from working in physical proximity with one another under the Museum of London created a community which offered all the attributes discussed earlier in Section 2.2.2 concerning innovation, sharing of resources, and the positive outcomes of shared working culture and approach. As different groups began to enter the archaeology market, shared visions began to fragment, and competitive approaches to win bids made the earlier years significantly competitive (pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 6, 7).

The rest of the 1990s were really about dealing with the changes that were set about by the huge changes that came into place. Units were trying to find their feet in the market place, and also had to come to terms with competing for territory that had been their patch for decades. Taryn Nixon⁶⁷ summarises the period:

I would characterise it as being highly fragmented and just about coming of age, now.
My overview on the whole profession is that we raced very quickly from the 70s,

67 Current Chief Executive of MOLA (1998 to present); Head of Operations in MoLAS from 1987-1997; Chair for the IfA from 1992-1993

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where there was just so much data that some stunningly successful endeavours came about to basically capture that data, to rescue that data, before it got lost. Then inevitably creating big publication backlog, and people not quite knowing what to do with it, lots of people putting some really good thinking into whether we should have archives, and should we get to a certain level of publication for everything, and all the rest of it, to then rushing headlong into a sort of competitive world where we created these new teams of curators, contractors and consultants, and ended up tendering for work, and creating a new market. But then, for me, the next 20 years were us as professionals behaving very immaturely in that market. Not because we were bad people, but just because we were a new profession, effectively, from 1990 and PPG16 onwards. So inevitably people would undercut each other, people would try to win work at any costs (pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 6).

4.2.7 *The Noughties to Present Time of Writing*

Today, London has a Greater London Authority (GLA) that was established in 2000, after 24 years of being governed by a single tier Local Government. In a referendum held in 1998 72% voted in favour of the establishment of a new strategic authority, which resulted in the *Greater London Authority Act 1999*. Its goals are to improve the coordination between boroughs and to provide London with a unified voice. Headed by the Mayor of London, its work is scrutinised by the London Assembly.

In terms of planning, PPG 16 (DoE, 1990) was consequently replaced in 2010 by a statement with more emphasis on community engagement, PPS 5: *Planning and the Historic Environment* (DCLG, 2010), which has also now all been replaced (along with all the other Planning Policy Statements) by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF; DCLG, 2012) published in 2012 (e.g. PIA Forum, 2013 for in-depth discussion). The NPPF dilutes quite a lot of the principles laid out in the PPG 16.

In 2011 MoLAS separated from the Museum of London to become an independent limited charitable company Museum of London Archaeology (MoLA). This again has shifted the organisational landscape in terms of cutting a very powerful relationship in archaeology between fieldwork, curatorship and public dissemination (see Section 5.2)

New structures continue to be reorganised at time of writing (2014-2015). As of June 2014, government plans split EH into two separate organisations: Historic England (which will continue to fulfil its duties as the government's executive non-departmental advisory body) and English Heritage (which will run the National Heritage Collection [EH properties] and become a charitable company to eventually be entirely self-funded) (Larkin, 2014). As it is a recent change, we have yet to see its effect. However, the controversial plan did cause concern for various organisations such as the National Trust, the Council for British Archaeology, the Society of Antiquaries and RESCUE.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ See <http://rescue-archaeology.org.uk/?s=historic+england&submit=Go> for RESCUE response and links to responses from Society of Antiquaries and CBA; see media coverage: Clark, Nick, 2013 'Plans to divide English Heritage put historic sites' future 'in peril' in The Independent, Sun 01 Dec 2013 retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/plans-to-divide-english-heritage-put-historic-sites-future-in-peril->

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In the meantime, London archaeologists continue to have their work threatened by proposals sidelining archaeology in the name of encouraging sustainable development and international competition (see Section 5.2.1). This is most notable through cuts to archaeological services (see Rescue News).⁶⁹ Many Local Authority historic environment services have had severe cuts to their budgets, which has not only reduced the quality of the service and responsibilities, but has equally crippled the service through loss of staff and expertise. These include budget cuts to the CBA and English Heritage. In addition, there have been continuous cuts to archaeological services within Local Authorities, which are absolutely vital for archaeology under the planning system to actually function.

It is equally concerning that the NPPF emphasises ‘sustainable development’ and that planning should ‘proactively...meet the development needs of business and support the economy fit for the 21st century’, who ‘should not be over-burdened by the combined requirements of planning policy expectations’ (DCLG, 2012: 6). Equally, development lobbyist groups are publishing reviews which have ‘looked for changes that increase certainty, speed up processes, reduce duplication and minimise costs...business contributors...emphasised that they wanted to see action taken to reform those consents that they consider to be most problematic – namely, heritage, highways and environment-related consents – and...therefore sought to make recommendations focused on improving the operation of consents in these specific areas (Penfold Report, BIS: 2010: §1.4). There are groups strongly opposing protection to the environment, and criticise it ‘for delaying the planning process and for reducing its transparency, certainty and accountability’ (DCLG, 2006:1). The Department for Business Innovation and Skills *Implementation of the Penfold Review* was published in 2011, stating ‘the Government will reform the remits of the key consenting and advisory agencies to ensure [they] contribute to a competitive business environment by considering the impact of their decisions...and swiftly approving consents when it is appropriate to do so’ (DBIS, 2011: 7). In Section 5.2.1, we see English Heritage’s response.

4.3 Conclusion

Both planning and archaeology shifted enormously after WWII as new ideas embedded in incremental legislation, based on the principles of the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*, slowly developed land use, planning and archaeology. Over the past 50 and more years, both planning and archaeology have moved from sitting in relatively uncertain territory to becoming a central tool for the development and sustainability of the city’s unique urban fabric.

Changes archaeology has gone through over the decades and changes in the organisational landscape according to wider politics, have been presented here, albeit briefly. The role of finance in enabling services, and how renegotiations between various stakeholders have resulted

8975180.html

69 RESCUE report of cuts throughout all of the UK <https://rescue.crowdmap.com/>

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in complete shifts in conducting archaeology are also discussed. Examples include the end of the Inspectorate role; the amalgamation of London Museum and the Guildhall Museum into the Museum of London; the rise and fall and restructuring of the role of the GLC; the loss of the Museum of London's authority to GLAAS; the move into competitive tendering and the creation of units and opening up to the market. These are all examples of how economics and politics dictate archaeology structures and organisations.

The following chapter uses the information provided here, and further expands on it by presenting results which focus on the individual and the community. It looks how changing structures affect and impact the way archaeologists network and function using the concepts developed earlier in Chapter 2.

5 Chapter Five: Results - Urban Archaeology In London

‘Soon London Will Be All England’

King James I

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, the historical development of the various organisations was introduced as a backbone to appreciate the landscape from which the following results are drawn. Now, we examine how the archaeologists, as individuals, perceive these developments. The chapter is an analysis of *perceptions*, how different groups of archaeologists understand events that have taken place, or relationships between groups, irrespective of actual facts of events. The results in no way suggest that one narrative is right or wrong, but presents a reality of perception that impacts real situations; that reality is based on a fragmented perception of a shared past. It presents personal statements and quantitative data from both the interviews and survey, exploring different perceptions of success and failure in archaeology from the 1970s onwards. In doing so, it highlights concerns and draws comparisons between opinions from different sectors.

5.2 The Organisations engaged in London’s Archaeology

This first section further explores organisations and provides a brief introduction of the archaeological landscape, using data from participants. It then presents recurrent themes that emerged from the data. Again, it is predominantly narratives based on opinion, or also what may be argued as specious arguments. The point, however, is to highlight these viewpoints.

5.2.1 The Government Body: English Heritage

As mentioned in the previous chapter, various bodies with some form of government funding are being hit hard by budgetary cuts. In 2013, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport clarified in a letter to English Heritage that it will need to increase its effectiveness, with half the staff.⁷⁰ It is namely a ‘Management Agreement’ that suggests ‘English Heritage maximizes its effectiveness by focussing its activities in areas where it provides a distinctive service and reducing any areas of overlap with other bodies’ and that ‘administration is cut by 50% in real

70 For full letter, see <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/k-o/managementagreement.pdf>

terms’, with no more than 15% cut for ‘planning advice, grants for heritage at risk and the conservation and maintenance of sites in English Heritage’s care’ (EH Management Agreement, 2013). English Heritage will need to strengthen its own ‘fundraising capacity’ and begin ‘self-generation’ of income (ibid). The idea of the government *squeezing* agencies to incapacity is interestingly synonymous with global pressures squeezing and pressuring nations into compliance (see Section 3.3 for deregulatory pressure; see Section 7.3.2 for similar experiences in NYC; George, S., 2001: §25:37).⁷¹

English Heritage has found itself having to renegotiate its identity through changing roles and responsibilities because of changing external circumstances and government approaches. This reflects our earlier discussion in Chapter 1.⁷² EH’s publication, *Improvement Plan for Planning Services* (2013-2014), is a response to the ‘Management Agreement’ requirements quoted above and to the Deregulation Bill (still in draft).⁷³ The response suggests that it will become a government agency promoting sustainable development rather than conserving and protecting the historic environment to the best of its ability. Interestingly, these changes come at a time when redundancies have drained some very loyal and experienced employees, to be replaced with new faces, and perhaps malleable in terms of accepting the new direction which EH takes.

In addition, cuts have caused EH to pull programmes, such as their education programme or the more publicised programme of the Blue Plaques Scheme, which caused public outrage and headlines in the media such as the Daily Mail’s ‘£163,000 pay of English Heritage chief fuels fury over controversial decision to suspend blue plaques’.⁷⁴

The direction English Heritage takes and the impact of these changes is one the archaeological community needs to monitor carefully.

5.2.1.1 The Rose Theatre

Going back to when EH had become the curators of London in the early 90s through GLAAS: the power struggle between the MoL and EH was initially aggressive, primarily because EH was a new powerbase in London, another arm of government. The sentiment lingering at the time reflected anti-establishment attitudes and reaction from the shock of losing the Labour-led GLC and being overtaken by English Heritage set up by Conservative Secretary of State for the Environment, Michael Heseltine. The tension intensified with the creation of GLAAS, as the saga of the Rose Theatre was still very fresh (pers. comm., Pontin, 2012: 6; see NYC for similar response to LPC in Section 7.3.3.1). Being the early days for GLAAS, those that moved over job-wise were seen as a bit of a traitor (pers. comm., Bailie, 2012: 2).

⁷¹ Video: Susan George on Neoliberalism explains financial reliance or ‘debt is a huge source of political control’

⁷² Archaeology under planning in Section 1.4.3; self-identity and role negotiating in Section 2.2; and the ideals of competing at a global level and its impact on planning in Section 3.3.1.

⁷³ See <http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2014-15/deregulation/stages.html> for Bill stages

⁷⁴ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2258749/163-000-pay-English-Heritage-chief-fuels-fury-controversial-decision-suspend-blue-plaques.html>

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‘You have to go back to the politics of the time they came here...and with the Thatcherite removal of the GLC’ (pers. comm., Dawson, 2012: 38), because there are plenty of positive impacts in having a government arm to heritage, however the environment in which they came about was tense. There is a sense from participants that English Heritage had just accidentally gotten sucked in to fill a vacuum created by the GLC’s removal, and then again with GLAAS taking over from the MoL in 1991 - it is more seen as an ‘interim’ role that stuck (discussed in Section 4.2.5). While English Heritage’s involvement in London is viewed by some as done ‘out of the goodness of their heart’ (pers. comm. Stephenson, 2012: 12), they have also been criticised for being bureaucratic, too large, rigid, arcane and with a streak of suspicion (being associated with government) (e.g. pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 1; pers. comm., Orton, 2012: 22). Also, some participants (e.g. pers. comm., Pontin, 2012: 8-9) mentioned the tensions between the GLAAS team and the Museum of London, for example, at its inception.

A lot of the perception held at the time was related to how EH entered the London scene and the rapid changes happening at the time.

...the Rose Theatre becomes a highly embarrassing situation for the government. English Heritage were getting the blame, even though they weren’t to blame. But they got the blame because they are the government’s body. The way it gets resolved is that the Museum gets kicked off the site, and English Heritage comes in and finishes off the site. Simultaneously, the Museum loses responsibility for running curatorial services, and EH sets up GLAAS, which then provides advice for all the boroughs. With the exception of Southwark and the City of London (the square mile). But basically it’s punishment for the Museum of London, because the MoL is militantly on the side of the protestors, and doing its best to blame EH for everything that’s going on (pers. comm., Aitchison, 2012: 12).

Although Aitchison’s⁷⁵ comments are from one angle, it highlights the sensitivities still regarding the Rose Theatre. Although the time frame is that UK-wide curatorial services were separated *through* PPG 16, and not ‘simultaneously’, the Rose Theatre and PPG 16 generally are referred to as a single event. Also, for example, while Aitchison suggests that English Heritage was not to blame, others suggest that had EH had the robust protection and planning guidance in place, the Rose Theatre excavation would have turned out differently (e.g. Harvey, 1989; Wainwright, 1989).

Mike Heyworth⁷⁶ (pers. comm., 2012: 5) talks about the conflict at the time, and that ‘there was a lot of tension and a lot of disrespect, frankly, within the Museum of London people about how English Heritage had been involved’ with the changes of delivering archaeology in London. However, Tim Williams⁷⁷ comments in return:

The disrespect came from the Central Excavation Unit replacing MoLAS as the

75 Currently Executive Director of Landward Research Ltd (2010-); Previously Skills Strategy Manager at Icon, Expert Assessor at European Commission and Head of Projects and Professional Development at the IfA

76 Director of CBA from 2004 until present. Also previously worked in English Heritage.

77 Currently Senior Lecture at the IoA (2002 to present). Previously Head of Archaeology Commissions in EH (1992-2002) and Senior Archaeologist at the DUA (1981-1991)

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excavating/documenting body – but the brief had changed – the archaeologists weren't better, just operating to a different brief. That pissed people off – and EH were out of order and trying to cover their political arse (pers. comm., Williams, 2012: 48).

Schofield (pers. comm., 2012: 8), quite humorously, confesses 'we were very antagonistic towards Wainwright⁷⁸: '...I've tried in the 90s to be more consensual, polite...to English Heritage. I should have done it earlier. I'm sorry. I was a hostile youth' (note the use of the individual's name [Wainwright] instead of organisation [English Heritage] – prior to the 90s, emphasis is put on individuals rather than organisations: I return to this relationship between individual and organisation in Section 5.3.3.1)

5.2.1.2 The Curatorial Role in the State Body

At the same time, EH did try early on to resolve the concerns raised from the new structure's risk to research. Gill Chitty, head of the Archaeological Services at GLC in 83-86 before moving onto EH, mentioned how the separation of archaeology into curatorial and contractual arms had:

...unnecessarily polarised [archaeology and that] English Heritage tried to resolve some of that through the research agendas initiatives to try to create a research environment amidst the territory in which people operated, rather than a monetised kind of territory, where it was about making money and winning tenders. They tried very hard to introduce the research agenda and research framework model as a way of introducing some equity, really, and some quality as well into the process rather than simply the monetisation (pers. comm., Chitty, 2014: 7).

English Heritage (or GLAAS), alongside others, have a series of publications promoting standards and research frameworks such as the *Management of Archaeological Projects [MAP2]* (EH, 1991), *Research Framework for London's Archaeology* (MoLAS, 2003) the *Greater Thames Estuary Research Framework* (EH, 1999), *The Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment [MoRPHE]* (English Heritage, 2006), to name a few. In that regard, EH has played a very significant role in pushing for best practice and a more holistic approach to archaeology and heritage management principles, policies and guidance.

Indeed the role, and perception, of English Heritage is an interesting one. Results from the survey showed that 66.7% of participants think English Heritage does a good job with delivering their remit; 29.2% and 58.3% think they are either the most important or a very important body out of a selection of organisations offered; and all participants feel EH has a good overall impact (53.8% voted good; 34.6% very good; 11.5% outstanding).

Even though the interviewees are predominantly from the elder generation, 82% say that English Heritage are useful and a good organisation.

78 Chief Archaeologist of English Heritage from 1989 to 1999; Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments in English Heritage. President of the Prehistoric Society from 1981 to 1985; President of the Society of Antiquaries of London from 2007 to 2010. Awarded MBE.

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Adam Single,⁷⁹ one of the GLAAS curators, talks of his experience working as county archaeologist for the Kent Council versus English Heritage:

...it's something probably to do with being the 'man from English Heritage' rather than some joker from the Council, which I was before, that I think my communication is a lot more widespread and I have a lot more interaction with members of the public – because I'm the 'man from English Heritage' they see me, for whatever it is that they want to achieve, as an ally whereas the reputation of people from Councils is... much more as a foe...(pers. comm., Single, 2012: 3)

It is clear that there are benefits with EH having a curatorial role. Its image and brand as a national organisation which is set up for the wellbeing and benefit of England's heritage, carries a lot of weight in a local context. There are certainly advantages and disadvantages. Unlike Southwark or the City of London curators, GLAAS do not work *within* the planning team and so may not necessarily come up 'with a more unified response' (pers. comm., Constable, 2012), but at the same time, EH is a brand of authority and can use that as weight in their 'powers of persuasion and networking and soft powers, soft influences' (pers. comm., Single, 2012: 4).

5.2.1.3 The Roles of English Heritage

There are clearly different perspectives about English Heritage, and some participants felt they were confused as to what EH's role was, and suggested EH try to do too much (e.g. pers. comm., Edis, 2012: 8,9; pers. comm., Aitchison, 2012: 11, 14, 16, 21; pers. comm., Cooper, 2012: 28, 45). EH's function in the National Heritage Act 1983 states that 'in the event of a conflict between (...) functions and duty (...) functions shall prevail'. The functions list the roles that EH '*may*' conduct, including giving advice, 'whether or not they have been consulted', to prosecute 'any offence under Part I of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 or under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990', or 'institute in their own name proceedings for an injunction to restrain any contravention of any provision of that Part or of the Act of 1990' (National Heritage Act, 2002; 1983). While a lot of participants in interviews suggest that EH has 'soft power' (e.g. pers. comm., Single, 2012: 4, 17; pers. comm., Schaaf, 2012: 48), EH is actually backed quite strongly in law. As Edis confirms (pers. comm., 2012: 8), '...it's got a very clear cut dried legal series of obligations and roles...which it does...very well...there's nobody else. And we all hide behind them. English Heritage is the law' (see Section 5.2.1.2; also see Section 4.2.5 and 4.2.6 for roles set out by *National Heritage Act 1983* and *PPG 16*). In fact a lot of archaeological contractors hide behind English Heritage as well. In private conversation contractors claimed that in times when they were being pressured by developers or consultants, they would informally speak to the planning officers to highlight concerns, so that they can confront the developers. Single explains:

⁷⁹ Current GLAAS Advisor; Previous Archaeological Advisor to Kent County Council.

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...if they have concerns about their own consultant or developer who's employing them - then they have ways of letting us know. They will sometimes say: this is what I've been told to do - and then just leave it at that. Not prying any sort of judgement. 'So there you have it, the ball's in your court now. You are now in possession of that information.' The implication being that maybe you might want to do something about that. But no archaeological contractor would ever try to say that... There are informal meetings on site. You would get told things by archaeologists and then you would just have to go and investigate. It can come from all tiers of the contracting side of things. Occasionally even a consultant who feels that he's being in the pay of a developer and much more loyal to the developer than the archaeological contractor, would still just perhaps give slightly more frequent updates for a site maybe than you would expect. There is a certain sort of unspoken, untraceable sort of different change in the pattern of behaviour, where you think this person is trying to tell me something without getting themselves into trouble...(pers. comm., Single, 2012).

A project manager at MoLA had said, 'EH has a lot of power...the buck stops with the planning officer' (pers. comm., Tecirli, 2012: 27). And it does. However, English Heritage and their faction GLAAS (which act as the archaeological officers for local authorities) do sometimes have blurry roles and people find it hard to separate, or confusing. English Heritage outside of London, for example, do not act as curators; this sometimes lead to complications when deciphering if opinions are directed towards English Heritage or GLAAS during interviews.

5.2.1.3.1 GLAAS

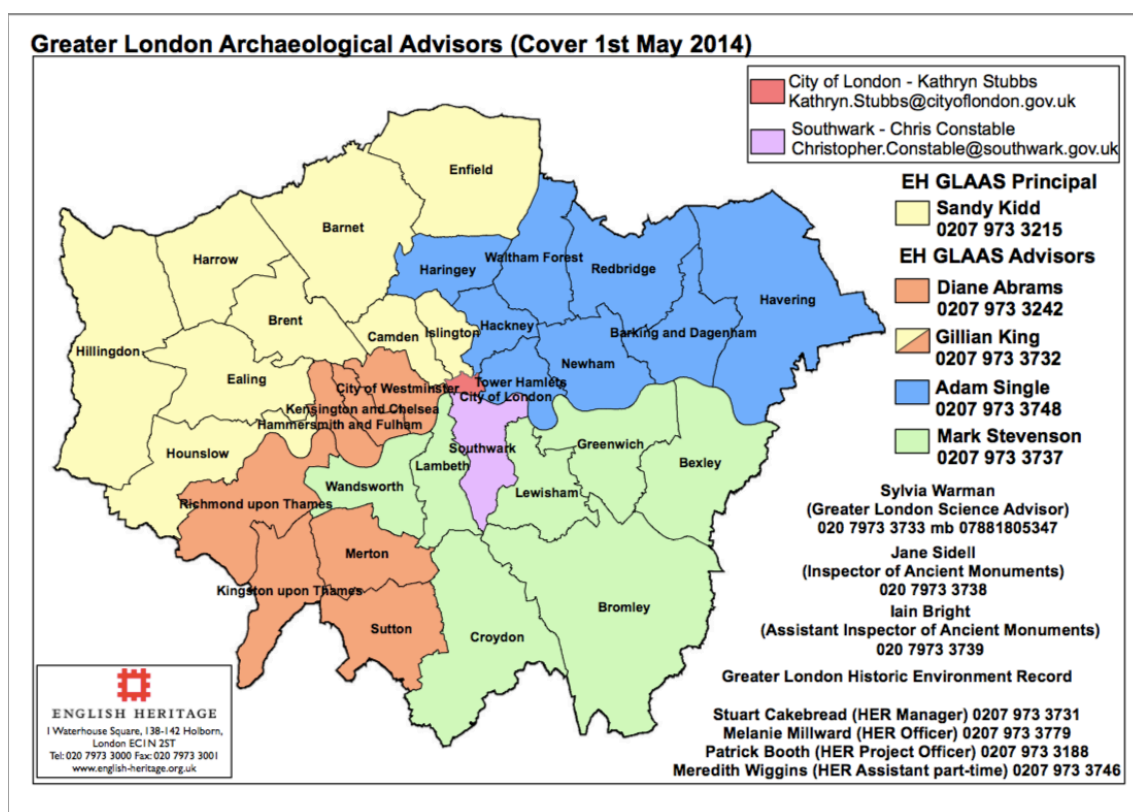


Figure 27 Coverage of London by LPA Archaeology Officers (EH Website, 2014)

At present there are seven curators that cover the whole of Greater London (Figure 27). They are a tight-knit group who all know each other and communicate over email informally with each other or in ALGAO⁸⁰ meetings. Planning advice put into practice should be in accordance with government policy (the NPPF) and takes the form of desk-based assessment, field evaluation, excavation, watching brief, or buildings recording. To assist with these investigations, various guidance documents have been produced by different bodies such as ALGAO, GLAAS, EH and also the IfA.

5.2.1.3.2 The City of London & Southwark Borough

Coming from a different background, both the City of London and Southwark have their own archaeology officers who are part of the planning office. They have the same role as GLAAS, but are not associated with EH, obviously. Chris Constable, the archaeology officer of Southwark,

⁸⁰ Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers UK

comments on how that has its up and down sides: while he works with the planning team it means that they can work together under planning, however it is also worth considering that when a developer receives a letter with the national organisation English Heritage on the letterhead, they take it far more seriously (pers. comm., Constable, 2012: 14). It does, however, benefit him that he is involved with pre-applications, which he says makes it ‘a lot easier’ and that most of the planners know what is going on in terms of archaeology because of their close working relationship (pers. comm., Constable, 2012: 15).

5.2.1.4 Historic Environment Records & Sites and Monuments Records

While the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) is London’s main physical archive (see Section 5.2.3.4), the Historic Environment Records (HER)/Sites and Monuments Records (SMR) held at English Heritage, are another. London’s HER, a computerised database, is the only one maintained by English Heritage who have been looking after the records since 1991 (e.g. pers. comm., Cakebread, 2013: 3). Originally it had been set up with the MoL with funding from the GLC. The records have been around for 40 years, and were initially set up as a planning tool to identify where archaeology was, with further development taking place after the post-war boom. Without any protection for archaeology lest it was a scheduled monument, the SMRs proved very useful and successful, and so was recommended that SMRs should be established in every county or unitary authority by the 1969 Walsh Report (pers. comm., Cakebread, 2013: 3), which suggested that only 2% of recorded archaeological sites were scheduled.⁸¹ During the 1980s it was realised that there was a need for standardisation: the Monuments Protection Programme (MPP) began in 1986 as a response for the need for statutory protection. This took off during the late 90s. The MPP (EH, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) is a great guideline to the curatorial understanding of archaeology, designed to ‘collect information which will enhance the conservation, management and public appreciation of the archaeological heritage’ (Schofield, 1998). These programmes formed the future of ‘guidelines for SMRs, how to basically manage an HER and look after the information, the sources of information to get, how it should be put together...’ (pers. comm., Cakebread, 2013: 3).

In 2000, EH published *Power of Place: The future of the historic environment* (EH, 2000) as a review of all policies relating to the historic environment, requested by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR). The DCMS responded with its publication *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (DCMS, 2001), in which the Government committed to holding a consultation on the future of HERs and support for statutory status and standards.⁸²

⁸¹ This cannot be discussed in depth here, but for further reading, see Baker, 1999a; Baker 1999b; Benson, 1974; Burrow, 1984; Gilman, 1996; Gilman, 2004; RCHME & ACAO, 1993; Hunter & Ralston, 2006; Robinson, 2000

⁸² See *Historic Environment Records: Benchmarks for Good Practice* (Chitty, 2002); *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward* (DCMS, 2004).

5.2.2 *The Professional Body: The Chartered Institute for Archaeologists*

The Institute for Archaeologists is quite a controversial body which is either strongly supported by, vehemently hated by, or simply irrelevant, to a number of archaeologists. In the survey, 50% of respondents were members. Of those, an average of 22% rated the IfA's delivery of its remit, significance, and impact as poor or marginal. In the interviews, 47.3%⁸³ believed that having a professional body is important, or more particularly that the IfA is important, *but*, 43.6%⁸⁴ felt that they were either useless altogether or in delivering their duties. 61.8% said that their profession had no need for IfA membership. These are powerful numbers that the IfA must consider. They are clearly not reaching archaeologists, and many archaeologists feel excluded by the IfA's focus on the well-being of both archaeology's *clients* and management of contractual units. 'My perception of IfA is that they've become a bit corporate - a bit suited and booted. They're establishment figures, a lot of them now. And I'm not sure how many of the younger diggers on the circuit are members of IfA', a senior figure remarks (pers. comm., anon., 2012). Paul Everill discusses how the set up of the IfA initiated a rupture in the discipline from the start: '...it was in 1979 that the Association for the Promotion of the Institute of Field Archaeologists...was set up...with the view to setting up something to regulate standards for the management of archaeological projects. But there was a huge body of people working in archaeology who wanted it to be more like a Trade Union...and there was tension between these two groups' (Morel, 2014: 3). The former won, as it were, and the antagonism continues. The sentiment surrounding archaeologists' opinions on the IfA are very much tied to personal views on what individuals believe the role of the IfA *is* versus what it *should be*.

As was detailed in Section 1.4.2, the concept of professionalisation *and* the idea of a professional body include a 'commitment to a service ideal' and to have a 'collegial authority' which upholds a position of legitimacy and authority. Fundamentally, however, professionalisation is about improving the standards and practice of the profession. As a professional body, the IfA has struggled to do this. A lot of this roots back to the basic fact that they have just failed to win over the position of collegial authority and legitimacy, as they have not yet found methods of inclusivity for those who (a) are not involved in the planning process directly, (b) may not be in a position where they can afford the membership fees, (c) do not see the value of the service they receive, and (d) feel the IfA's interests do not directly translate to the betterment of the profession. It is not enough to woo archaeologists into membership because they should 'support' the development of the profession, as has been the argument for some.

First, if we look at the IfA's Strategic Plan Summary Document (2010-2020)⁸⁵, they clearly say that the IfA promotes 'high professional standards and strong ethics in archaeological practice, to maximise the benefits that archaeologists bring to society, and to bring recognition and respect to

83 14.5% = No Response.

84 14.5% = No Response/Opinion. These participants subtracted, percent of uselessness is curved to 51.1%

85 <http://www.archaeologists.net/sites/default/files/node-files/Stratplansummary.pdf>

our profession’. The IfA do organise and promote many activities and events that promote the development of archaeology: they support professional development through schemes such as Continuing Professional Development (CPD), provide training courses and workshops that include courses for special interest and area groups, provide workplace bursaries, collaborate with EH on initiatives such as the Historic Environment Placements, hold NVQs (National Vocational Qualifications), conferences and so on. In addition, in 2014 they became a Chartered Institute, and so hope to increase the reputation of the profession through that status.

5.2.2.1 Minimum Wage and Working Conditions

One of the main strains between supporters and opponents of the IfA is the issue of IfA’s disregard for working conditions, in particular the minimum wage. Peter Hinton,⁸⁶ the IfA’s Chief Executive, explains:

We set recommended minimum salaries and those recommended salaries are binding on our registered organisations. We’ve set them at a very low level because we have to. If we set them at the level we ought to be at, we would find that the registered organisations couldn’t comply with them. So they would pull outside the registration scheme and we would lose a lot of members actually. So although a lot of our members would like us to put the salaries up, others feel that as employers they would have to leave.

It’s a balancing game all the time. The IfA shouldn’t really be doing this. It should be engaged in negotiation between an employer body and a trade union body. But they’re not doing it. So we’re filling a gap basically. But it’s a bad fit for us to be doing it (pers. comm., Hinton, 2012: 6).

Low wages amongst archaeologists is a huge problem, which has detrimental effects on the profession: highly skilled archaeologists leave for better paid jobs; archaeologists struggle to maintain a standard of living that they see friends in different professions experiencing; clients underestimate the skills and qualifications earned as costs do not reflect the expertise provided; contractual units go down to horrifying estimates to win bids that result in poor work, corners cut or simply an inability to do the archaeology justice ; and, finally – against the main mission of the IfA – it results in *low* professional standards and *weak* ethics in archaeological practice, which *minimise* the benefits that archaeologists bring to society, *obstructing* recognition and respect to our profession. The problem is that the IfA is *not* a union; but archaeologists feel that they should fight for the archaeologists as if they were.

So you have a body that should be lobbying much more strongly and should be making a lot more noise and probably should be a chartered institute and a proper union... I’m not sure what the point of the IfA is really. I get where they’re coming from but I don’t think they have enough teeth at the moment to be able to make a difference’ (pers. comm., Cohen, 2013: 15).

86 Current Chief Executive of the IfA; Previously Head of Specialist Services at MOLAS (1991 – 1997).

Don Cooper⁸⁷ adds:

[Units] pay their workers appallingly by any standard. All of them. Get a degree at UCL and earn 16 grand as a digger is just not the way to go. I don't know how you get around that. The IfA are a complete failure with that in my view' (pers. comm., Cooper, 2012: 17).

Those that believe it is the IfA's role to be involved with working conditions and pay, realise that there is a knock-on effect on the quality of archaeology. The response from the IfA implies that they are in muddy waters as they shift between who their loyalties are within a fragmented industry:

...like all other professional institutes, our primary role - which not all of our members understand - is to protect the public. It's consumer protection, and to ensure proper public benefits for the work that archaeologists do. It's not actually to look after the lot of archaeologists. However, if you do the other stuff right, you raise and ensure that archaeologists consistently deliver good and honest services for people. Then the by-product is that you do raise the esteem in which archaeologists hold...(pers. comm., Hinton, 2012: 7).

Solutions to this contentious issue are clearly not straight-forward. It is further complicated by the fragmented nature of the archaeological landscape, as well as the competitive nature of contract archaeology. Underbidding, discussed in Section 5.3.2.3, further exaggerate the problem. The IfA do not want to pressure contract managers, who they feel will simply drop their IfA membership; contract managers try to lower costs to be able to compete with under-bidders; and some contractors feel developers would never accept increasing fees particularly being witness of Government's continuous streamlining of the planning process and required conditions.

5.2.2.2 IfA's Disciplinary Procedures

Now, another issue that the IfA has to defend itself against is its disciplinary process and what some perceive as a 'spineless' approach to regulating their own standards, despite their standards being regarded as very low. 'It's probably very difficult to find an organisation that cannot comply with the IfA standards, simply because they are low...' says Southwark curator Chris Constable (pers. comm., 2012: 21), who is a supporter of the IfA. Another archaeologist wishing to remain anonymous says 'it's so woolly, it doesn't really matter what they say – they're pointless'. And though their standard guidelines may be considered as minimal, as Dominic Perring points out, the IfA is not about a regulator from outside coming in, but is about being a key, and successful, peer-review body: 'we as archaeologists came together, formed a body in which we've defined what we think are the necessary standards to achieve...' (pers. comm., 2013: 19). The IfA, for those who value quality, help identify how to improve quality through 'inspections' and 'intense scrutiny' (ibid). Indeed, having disciplinary measures is not about

87 Chairman of Hendon and District Archaeological Society. Also involved with CBA London

naming and shaming, and because this is not the formula used, archaeologists assume violators get away scot-free. Some past experiences have left archaeologists unconvinced at the disciplinary procedures and ways of handling cases (e.g. pers. comm., Keys, 2013: 29; pers. comm., Sloane, 2013: 11), but it appears uncertain whether this has improved as comments of archaeologists witnessing horrendous jobs on sites continues (e.g. pers. comm., Biddle, 2013, 20; pers. comm., Cunliffe 2013).

As for its role as a professional body, the IfA has yet to convince the crowd. In discussing the IfA with a fellow senior archaeologist, I was told in confidence:

Do I think it's the slightest use at all? No. I actually think IfA is useless. Basically, I became one because I thought - whenever it was - it was a good idea. But over the years, I think it's just a toothless, pointless organisation. I suppose I thought it would do what it said it would do: it would become a universalising professional organisation which would enhance the professional status of archaeologists. And I don't think it's done that. It just preaches to the converted. It just preaches to ourselves. It's an organisation that's lost its ways. Every year I seriously consider not bothering to renew my membership (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

There are simply many out there who feel the IfA offers them nothing, particularly if they are not working in the commercial world. For those who are in the commercial sector, despite being Chartered, the IfA still has a long way to go.

The importance of understanding these perspectives and discussions around the IfA is rooted in recognising that the direction the professionalisation of archaeology takes is debated. For example, reflecting how professionalisation by its very nature excludes *non-professionals* (Section 1.4.2), we can immediately see how this opposes to some archaeologists' very perception of what archaeology *is* as a practice. We can also begin to ask who professional bodies *should* serve within professions – those in managerial positions? Clients and customers? Or the profession's integrity, value, and those who make up the bulk of it? Professional bodies can play an important role in ensuring professions are recognised, valued and respected – and it is important for the IfA to rethink its audience and recognise it needs the support of the majority of archaeologists.

5.2.3 *The Museum of London Group*

The Museum of London group includes the Museum of London, the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), the Museum of London Docklands⁸⁸ and until only recently, MOLA. We heard a bit about the MoL earlier in Chapter 4. Despite MOLA no longer being a part of the Museum, it is a huge part of its story, and so will be included.

Queen Elizabeth II opened the Museum of London on 2nd December, 1976 after many delays and costs rising above estimation (The Guardian, 1975: 14). The opening had attracted over 350,000 visitors during the first six months. A newspaper article published close to a year after, reviewed

88 The Museum of London Docklands will not be discussed in this research

the Museum as providing ‘more than a vivid history lesson’ but ‘seems well on the way to instilling its visitors with a sense of pride and a sense of belonging (Eekhardt, 1977). The review also commented on the ‘chilling and godforsaken’ Barbican as ‘one of those “radiant city” schemes so fashionable in the ‘60s – 46 acres of concrete...embracing (or strangling) some antiquities with its deplorably ugly Modern buildings’ (ibid).

This view continues to resonate somewhat, working against the Museum, as it is slightly out of the way of London’s more condensed central tourist scenes, is quiet, and does not have a lot of other things to do (pers. comm., Stephenson, 2012: 30). But regardless, the MoL ‘has always had a leadership role, which has waxed and waned a bit’ (pers. comm., Whytehead, 2012: 34).

5.2.3.1 A Centralised Hub Or An Economic Faux-Pas?

Prior to EH’s takeover in the 1990s mentioned earlier, ‘everything was run by the Museum’ (pers. comm., Aitchison, 2012: 11). They had ‘responsibility of running the Sites and Monuments Record and giving advice to all the boroughs’ (ibid). Most importantly, however, the Museum was very involved with archaeology. ‘The Museum always saw itself in the old days as the centre of excellence of archaeology in the London area: it undertook the fieldwork, it researched the results, published the results, displayed the results’ (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 3). It was not simply a *museum*, it had a central role in the archaeology of London, including the resources and services to make sure it was carried out.

Those who were employed at the Museum during this period all comment on the recited history – layered in economic terminology – of how this central hub transformed: it was seen as a monopoly, a conflict of interest. ‘I think the Museum of London people were unrealistic to think they could keep a monopoly’, Rose Bailie⁸⁹ from COLAS comments, while others suggest that breaking the Museum’s hold got rid of ‘that inward-looking culture’ (pers. comm., anon., 2012). However, what is called a ‘monopoly’ is, in fact, a centralised system. Jenny Hall defends:

I don’t call it monopoly, I call it - you got people in the DUA and then MOLA who had years of experience of digging in the city. [Others] don’t have depths of experience in digging urban sites...It’s the loss of all that built-up experience...anyone who has been there a long time, you do have the depth of experience and knowledge that just gets lost (pers. comm., Hall, 2012: 30).

From the interviews, I observed a sense that those who had been working for the Museum during this period, were torn by today’s paradigm of the Museum’s archaeology units being a monopoly, versus what they felt was actually happening at the time: as if such a heroic and proud period of their lives had been tainted with a word that symbolises some sort of power-abusive behaviour – which is not what it was about. Sheldon (pers. comm., 2012: 20) exclaims, ‘...people who wanted to change it called it a monopoly [but it] never intended to be a monopoly’. Of course, he

⁸⁹ Chairman of COLAS

accepted, from the outside perspective, it could be seen as ‘open to abuse [but] I’m sure none of my colleagues abused it’ (ibid; also pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 4).

The key point, however, is that rhetoric changed after the introduction of a new economic approach, an approach which promoted deregulation, developer’s market, competitive tendering and competition. The ideals and benefits of a centralised system for archaeological retrieval and processing became sidelined as competition was embraced.

Consequences of the split of archaeology roles into different factions *in addition to* the requirement of competitive tender include a loss of expertise, possible decline of standards, a fragmentation in the profession, limited collaborative work, and a break of the archaeological input/output cycle, to name a few.

5.2.3.2 Change in Management

As for the Museum, changes in management have turned the focus of the Museum on other aspects of London’s history, overlooking archaeology. Management has distanced themselves from archaeology, most notably from their decision to separate itself from MOLAS and make key archaeological curators redundant. The decisions have angered archaeologists, who blame Jack Lohman, director of the museum from 2002 to 2012. As Director at the time, he is seen as having no interest in archaeology, did not understand it, and did not visit an excavation site once (e.g. pers. comm., Biddle, 2012, 26; pers. comm., Cooper, 2012, 28; pers. comm., Cotton, 2012, 3; pers. comm., Hall, 2012; pers. comm., Francis, 2013: 28; pers. comm., Milne, 2012; pers. comm., Rauxloh, 2013: 9; pers. comm., Whytehead, 2012: 34-35). During Simon Thurley’s days as Director of the Museum between 1997 and 2002 (now Chief Executive of English Heritage), the Museum was known as Simon Thurley’s Museum of London, not *just* the Museum of London. He used archaeology and the publicity it got as what some called a ‘marriage of convenience’, where both he and the Museum would get attention.

[Simon Thurley] recognised the value of archaeology in gaining publicity for the Museum. So if you found something notable or exciting on site, you could guarantee the next couple days that he’d be down with a camera crew. Which is good publicity for everyone.

Jack [Lohman] rarely came down on site at all. He was more interested in cultural history than archaeology and stuff and we argued at the time of the split that it was a change in direction for the Museum. The Museum was turning away from understanding and evaluating the past through archaeology. As well as the split there were redundancies in the Museum, Jon Cotton was one of them. Both the pre-historic and Roman curator were made redundant. There was a question mark over the LAARC for a while. A new Roman gallery that was planned was put on ice. So we argued those packages of things was the Museum turning away from understanding the past through that direct approach.

I think in the longer term it will damage the Museum to have done that. The people who made those decisions will have a lot to answer for (pers. comm., Francis, 2012:

28).

Jon Cotton, one of the curators made redundant⁹⁰, explains that with Lohman:

...archaeological exhibitions dropped off the radar, whereas with Simon Thurley they were front and centre. The longer he was there, the more I felt we are heading in a completely different direction. It seems to me it's a direction that historically the Museum has never really gone down before - and I was very uncomfortable with the whole scenario. I thought, if they make me an offer - now's the time to go. And they made me an offer, and I went.

My feeling is that has diminished both the Museum and MOLA...but the powers that be decided that archaeology was too risky to carry on being involved in (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 23 & 4).

The lack of interest in archaeology remains a great loss for the profession. The Museum of London, as the title suggests, is the one institution that should have a vested interest in the information that comes out from excavations. A project manager from MOLA, who has left the position since her interview, spoke of how the Museum is 'very research-based, with the community, the galleries' through the curators, and that their vision is more public engagement and accessibility (pers. comm., Tecirli, 2012: 6-8). She emphasised the strong and close relationship MOLA and MoL had prior to the split, and how this provided the platform and opportunity for amazing finds to be exhibited in gallery space quite quickly.

With MOLA now independent, long-time curators Jon Cotton and Jenny Hall gone, and a new director, Sharon Ament, who was previously at the National History Museum, many now wait with curiosity to the direction the Museum will take. Recent discussions include a potential move to the historic Smithfield Market in London (Marrs, 2014).

5.2.3.3 The Separation of the Museum's Archaeological Service

A lot of opinion seemed to suggest that the separation of MOLAS from the Museum had to do with the Board and the Corporation that found archaeology risky in these turbulent times. However it seems that the idea of London's excavating unit being held at either the Museum or as an independent charity was always an option. An article in *The Guardian* published back in 1973 mentions, the unit excavating London '...would be best organised as a division of the new Museum of London, or as an independent organisation with its own government committee and charitable status' (Barker, 1973). The question whether the Museum – which in the Act of 1965 has no mention of archaeology – should continue to have an in-house archaeology unit while it is simultaneously getting *a lot* of archaeological material from other reputable, strong and legitimate contractors, cannot be justified by external management who are not familiar with the benefit of the strong and direct relationship that existed between the MoL and MOLAS. The close

⁹⁰ See Cotton's interview for discussion on redundancy, and his belief it was necessary to leave at that point anyway (pers. comm., 2012: 19, 21)

proximity between the two teams meant that they could work together to understand and interpret material found, and display it quicker.

As for MOLA, as Nick Bateman says, ‘How’s it panning out? Too early to say...we’re surviving. And so, I believe, is the Museum. In many ways it’s good for us...’ (pers. comm., 2012: 26). MOLA now has a lot more flexibility than it did under the Museum, and can do its own projects and marketing as MOLA, and not through the Museum. However the disadvantage is separating from their association with the Museum, which they have thrived off for years. While many units competing with MOLA were frustrated at the strong relationship it had (and continues to have) with the Museum and, in particular, with the LAARC, the disadvantage of that relationship meant MOLA had to work under the bureaucracy and limitations of the Museum (e.g. pers. comm., Rauxloh, 2013: 8-9; pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 20).

Despite the split, relationships, networks, collaborations and partnerships – whether informal or formal – are based on individuals, and their long and intertwined pasts, and so while those individuals are still within the two organisations, strong relationships will continue.

5.2.3.4 The London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre

Lastly, as part of the Museum of London Group, we turn to the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC). LAARC is Europe’s largest archaeological archive, and is home to the thousands of records and deposits from over 8,500 excavations: the *Museum of London Act 1965* had stated that the Museum would acquire all collections from the London Museum of Kensington and the Guildhall Museum, and that the MoL Board ‘shall take steps to acquire premises for the purpose of maintaining their collections therein and (...) where it appears to the Board that any objects...cannot conveniently be kept...they may store those objects at such other premises, wherever...suitable’ (Museum of London Act, 1965).

The LAARC is a ‘demilitarised zone’, where units would deposit their ‘archives there for the good of the London community, the good of the wider community’ (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 40). It also has a huge role in the consistency and standardisation of deposits (which in essence means improvements and consistencies during excavations and reporting) as their guidance and policies are quite high. LAARC Manager Francis Grew, first Archive Manager John Shepherd before him, and current Archivist Catherine Maloney are all named as key individuals who set up and maintain the stringent and high standards of the LAARC.

Grew⁹¹ (pers. comm., 2012: 2) explains that the LAARC had come to being in 1992, when Nick Merriman, now Director of the Manchester Museum, had realised that the wealth of backlog material from many years of excavations was scattered all over in different locations. He had negotiated with the Museum and managed to get their storage space on Lever Street. Simon

91 Current Director of the LAARC

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Thurley, appointed in 1997, had recognised the Lever Street facility was just too small and inadequate, and also had the vision of creating an archive which would also be research centre. Thurley, John Shepherd and Hedley Swain (then Head of Early London History and Collections) were the three that led the project. They saw the importance and necessity for material from excavation to go through ‘post-excavation, project management of the structures and processing of artefacts’ (ibid), and that there was a need for research, archivists and specialists to be a part of the archive. They also saw the LAARC as becoming a centre for local societies, so that members could come in and use it and be the beneficiaries of the centre. Because these specialists would not be taken on by the Museum, the idea was that they would get grants from universities or research bodies, and obtain work from archaeological contractors. However, this never happened: contractors started to build up their own specialist teams and eventually MOLAS took on the Specialist Services. And so, ‘the LAARC became reverted to having this biggish store, but with a very very small amount of people to do it. By 2002, there were probably only about 4 people’ (ibid). It has not really attracted many people from local societies (save HADAS), but has ‘been successful in attracting new audiences, with the volunteer schemes’ (ibid). ‘The way forward is to deal with small numbers...on very organised programmes’, says Grew (pers. comm., 2012: 8), because it does get congested with more than 20 people doing research in one go. It should be noted that HADAS has done considerable work in dealing with the backlog but were affected by the decline in specialists and also specialists starting to charge for their time (which had not been the case before).

On the other side of things, the ‘demilitarised’ zone that Cotton portrays of it might not be seen that way by others. An interviewee, who wishes to remain anonymous, leaked out:

There’s a lot of friction there. There is always gossip about the fact that the LAARC had got Heritage Lottery Funding for storage for their building. And yet MOLA had got involved in that building as well, despite the fact that they were arm’s length as a commercial company. So there’s always a bit of resentment that they have this great building with the LAARC in it, this great resource inside it, when in fact they’re a for-profit company and LAARC was part of the Museum. There was a lot of whispering...

They can just go downstairs and access collections if they want to see stuff. They did have a lot of storage space in LAARC for free, that other organisations didn’t get. They had preferential rates...access to people...and there’s a lot of crossover in personnel. There was a lot of resentment.... (pers. comm., anon., 2012)

Others, particularly contractors or even archaeologists doing community digs, also brought up the difficulties of processing finds for deposit:

...when I was digging, it was very oppressive. Have you seen the standards for archiving? It’s a very thick document, multiple pages for archaeological archive submission, to the very detail-oriented staff of the LAARC. It takes a lot of time and a lot of resources in terms of creating all, annotating everything and creating all the meta-data you need to submit...[but] Obviously they’re doing a great job...(pers. comm., Single, 2013: 24)

As Roy Stephenson⁹² says, ‘you can’t just dump stuff willy-nilly’ (pers. comm., 2012: 6), the LAARC is essential for keeping and imposing standards, which is *crucial* for the discipline of archaeology. Those standards have huge ramifications on the way a contractor digs:

LAARC is crucial to London archaeology. If you take the LAARC out of the equation, potentially London’s archaeology will fall over. It will also have ramifications for the rest of the country because the rest of the country watch what we do. The LAARC is a leader in its field. Whatever the contractors might say, it’s one of the easiest ways of getting rid of your archaeology once you’ve discharged the constraints...If you cut that off, it will be dreadful (pers. comm., Stephenson, 2012: 2)

5.2.4 *Academia and the Institute of Archaeology*

5.2.4.1 The Importance of Academia

It was mentioned earlier by Schofield (Section 4.2.5) how academia did not play any part in the professionalisation of archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s, and although there are views that academia should focus more locally than globally (e.g. pers. comm., Cohen, 2013: 6; pers. comm., Moshenska, 2012: 4; pers. comm., Sidell, 2012: 4; pers. comm., Whytehead, 2012: 42) it is not accurate to suggest academics are uninvolved. Academia has and continues to play a significant role in London archaeology, in terms of the individual and personal connections (see Section 5.3.3.1 for role of individuals) that somehow gets overshadowed.

The Walsh Report (1969) mentioned earlier, for example, had been put together by a group of informed individuals, one of which was Professor Grimes, then Director of the Institute. Jon Barrett, who was critical to the success of Framework Archaeology that led the Heathrow’s Terminal 5 and Standard, was from the University of Sheffield. Philip Barker, initiator of Rescue and the push for the professional body, the IfA, was of the University of Birmingham. Martin Biddle, another huge advocate and spokesperson for archaeology during that time, was, again, linked with Universities. Indeed, ‘the limited amount of fieldwork that took place in England was very dominated by academic establishments’ (pers. comm., Bateman, 2012: 8).

Over seventy percent (72.7%) of those interviewed have a degree relevant to archaeology.

Just over eighty percent (83.6%)⁹³ of all interviewees said they thought that academia is important and has a very useful role in archaeology (67.3% of those responses came from participants who have a relevant degree; Figure 28).

92 Head of Archaeological Collections and Archive at the MoL (2008 to present). Previously Archaeological Archive Manager, Senior Project Manager, and Administrator/Project Manager at MoL; Ceramics Specialist at Passmore Edwards Museum, Archaeologist at Painshill Park Trust, EH and Newcastle City Council from 1981.

93 83.6% said it was important; 10.9% that it was not and 5.5% did not respond

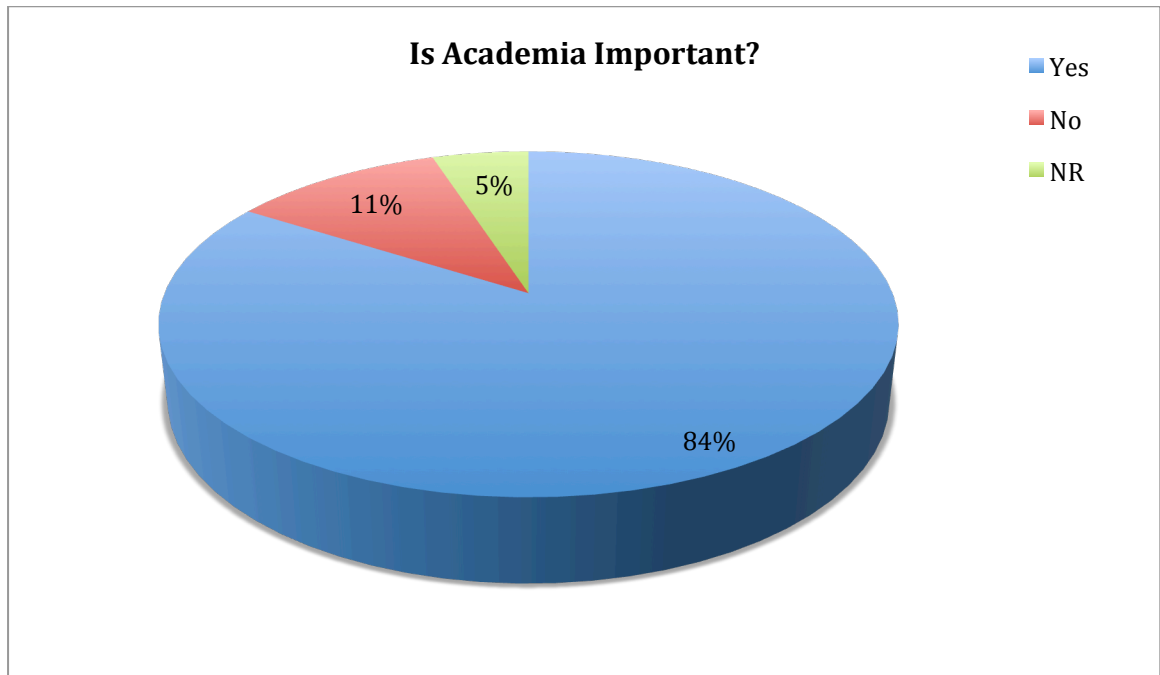


Figure 28 LDN Interviews: Perceptions on whether academia is important

5.2.4.2 The Insular World Of Academia

However, 47.9% felt that academia is inward looking, insular and pretentious (see Figure 29). Even out of the 83.6% that responded that archaeology is important and useful to the development of archaeology, 32.7% sided with the opinion that it is insular.

‘It’s...increasingly a closed shop’, said Nathalie Cohen⁹⁴ (pers. comm., 2012: 4); ‘the academics don’t have much of an idea as to what we do...and it shows up in some of their work and the comments they sometimes make...they just don’t understand’, added HER manager Stuart Cakebread⁹⁵ (pers. comm., 2012: 1).

94 Head of Community Archaeology at MOLA; also Archaeologist at National Trust and Southwark Cathedral; Team Leader of Thames Discovery Programmes from 2008-2011; Senior Archaeologist/Archivist at MOLA from 1996-2006.

95 Greater London Historic Environment Manager at EH from 2007 to present; previously HER Officer of North Somerset Council, SMR Officer of Kent County Council and Computing Officer for the Council for British Research of the Levant.

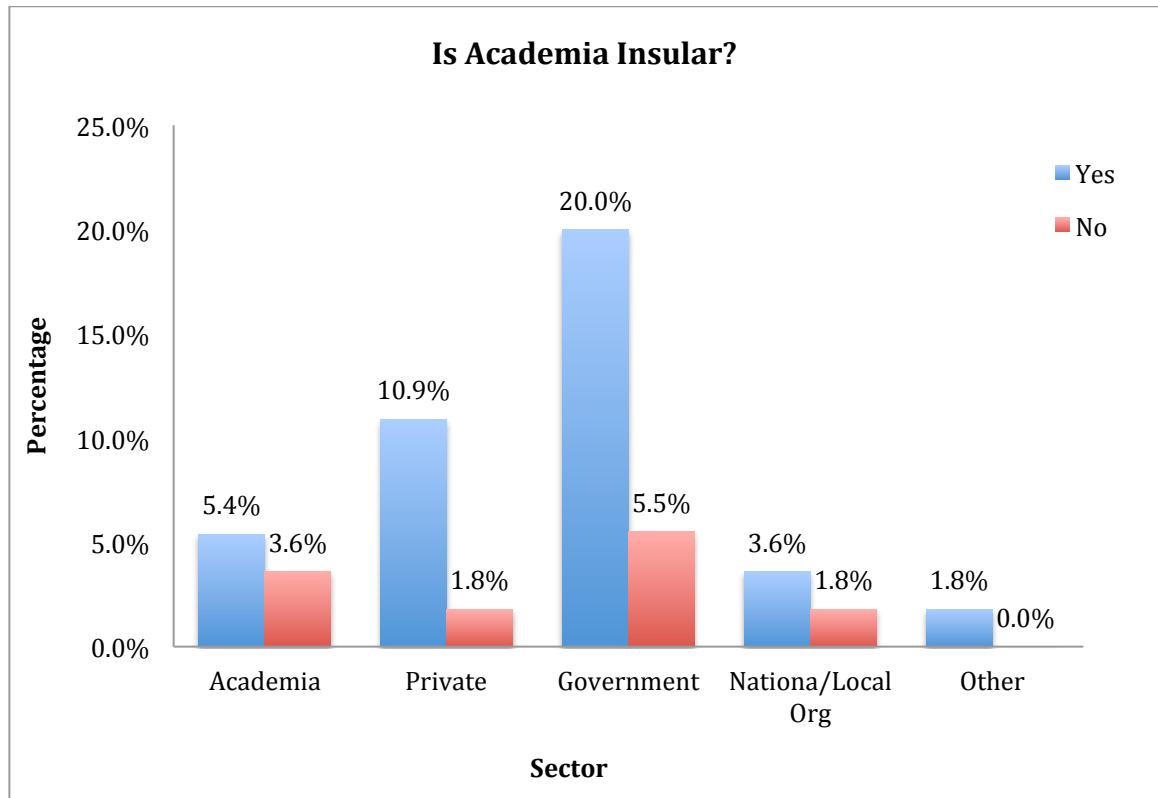


Figure 29 LDN Interviews: Perceptions on insularity of academia

Mike Heyworth, Director of the CBA, spoke about a project that tried to ‘encourage academics across the whole of the UK...to share information...about research’ to increase collaboration between Universities. ‘That completely failed!’, he explained, as academics simply were not prepared to share information (pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 12).

I think it’s a great shame that academics have distanced themselves...and it’s partly to do with - well, there’s a whole variety of reasons – but one of the reasons is this whole research assessment framework and that REF [Research Excellence Framework] that it now is, and this notion of international significance of people’s work...(pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 22).

Indeed academic institutions are undergoing a more widespread issue in terms of their role within larger society. My observation was that a lot of people feel universities, in particular with increasing competition and the need to excel in research, publication and impact, have many academics that do not want to share their information or data. The introduction of REF has put a lot of pressure on academics and, as on prominent academic archaeologist remarks, is ‘perverting the course of scholarship basically’. They continue:

all they’re interested in is not the academic bit, but the statistics of how many people visit the site, how many people got to the website and all that sort of thing. It’s impact. So we’re seeing a switch away from real research to stuff that gets impact (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

5.2.4.3 Training Archaeologists for London

In addition, although academia continues to be a strong driver for research and a relevant part of the career progression process, those involved with archaeology in the London community do not feel that a degree or academic qualification is ‘a necessary agent to becoming an archaeologist’ (pers. comm. Bateman, 2012: 10), and does not necessarily provide the training needed for immediate work (pers. comm., Tecirli, 2012: 18).

The IoA initially only took on postgraduates, and opened its doors to undergraduates and masters in 1968. It is not entirely certain when the Institute turned its focus predominantly towards world archaeology, but a student of the 70s mentioned that despite their interest in London archaeology, the view then ‘was that we don’t have anything to do with diggers over London...It was always something that was rather frowned upon actually’ (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 32). It is true that courses focusing on London no longer run, but there are numerous faculty members (many who were previously involved in London archaeology prior to academia) that maintain ties with those involved in London archaeology and establish collaborations involving students.

It seems easy to criticise the Institute for not being involved in London archaeology, however it does present itself as a world institution that aims to be ‘internationally pre-eminent in the study, and comparative analysis, of world archaeology and to enhance its national and international reputation...’.⁹⁶

As Tim Williams⁹⁷ explains:

It’s an academic institution, it’s not here to service the archaeology of London. It’s a global institute, a lot of its courses have very global focus, and that’s entirely right and proper - that’s what its job is. Its job is not here to support London archaeology, per se. It’s part of our mission statement to be engaged in London archaeology and a number of the member of staff are engaged in London archaeology. Clive [Orton]: *London Archaeologist* wouldn’t have existed without Clive and it’s one of the most important networking publication tools in the archaeology of London. And it’s done because Clive was here, and the IoA allowed him the time and space as part of his role to actually undertake in something like that. There’s plenty of us engaged. So I can understand there is always going to be criticism in wanting the IoA to do more in London, but it will do what it does based on the number of staff and the type of courses that are going on (pers. comm., Williams, 2012: 14).

Academia is just as much about self-fulfilment as employment in many disciplines, and through this research, I have come to realise that departments do not need to cater for the fodder of the commercial livestock of employment, and nor should they necessarily. Academia is about the pursuit of knowledge, which allows a scholar to concentrate in an area to develop profound knowledge of that area, or at least at undergraduate level gain the foundations.

⁹⁶ See <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/about/history>

⁹⁷ Tim Williams worked for the DUA and English Heritage, before becoming senior lecturer at the IoA

That said, I do feel that the IoA could be more involved in London archaeology as it is *the* academic institute for London, and should have a role and make more active statements regarding policies impacting archaeology. It did have a masters in Archaeology of London as well as a Widening Participation Officer (pers. comm., Dhanjal, 2012: 1), however these two programmes have ceased. However, increasingly efforts of such kind are based upon individuals, and so when they leave or do not dedicate constant time to projects, they fold. A recent effort in 2012 was that by Joe Flatman⁹⁸ and others, who began a Heritage Policy Group to ‘comment upon, monitor and inform the aims and objectives of governmental and non-governmental organisations...from the unique perspective and collective experience of the Institute’ (pers. comm., Flatman, 2012: 42). The departure of Flatman from the Institute resulted in the group folding.

There are positive and constructive methods of having better partnerships with the London environment, which is not only necessary for the reputation of the Institute, but essential to the hundreds of students that graduate each year, for both their understanding of archaeology and their opportunities for increasing employability.

5.2.5 *The Private Sector*

The term ‘private’ is questionable, at best, as it includes a series of archaeological contracting units, some now registered as charities; consultants that deal with a different angle of development-led archaeology; freelancers and specialists with employable services; and even, in fact, a digger who does not have a fixed contract and is – using an old term – in the circuit. In general when we speak about private, or commercial, or contract, we are generally referring to those that are involved in the development-led process. It is by no means easy being a private contract archaeologist: contractors must go through the legislative process of competitive tendering, struggle to work out the budgets to keep their team employed, and work under tremendous pressures.

Interviews revealed that there are four main units that have the reputation of being the ‘big ones’ working in London: MOLA and PCA, known to get most of the tenders, together with Oxford and Wessex, who were among the first to bid for tender outside their territorial patch, upsetting quite a few people. Other groups that were mentioned are AOC, L-P, and ASE. A few are quite big organisations, while others have only a small team and are contracted to do smaller jobs. Most, ‘tend to be ex-Museum of London anyway...it comes down to the fact that everybody used to work’ at some point with the MoL (pers. comm., Stephenson, 2012: 14).

98 Joe Flatman now works in the Designation department of EH, but during the time this research was conducted, was working both as senior lecturer in the IoA and as Surrey County Council Archaeologist.

5.2.5.1 Trust and Competition

When contracting first started, those who were there at the time mentioned how units were very guarded about what they would say in public, at meetings and conferences. ‘They were always rather careful to play the confidentiality card: I can’t talk about this site really because my client won’t allow me to’ (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 5; see also pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 13; pers. comm., Melikian, 2012: 13; pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 11). There was a breakdown in trust and it was ‘all very secretive’ (pers. comm. Hall: 18; see also pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 6, 22, 26; pers. comm., Carver, 2012: 36, 38). Archaeological units would keep sites to themselves, information to themselves, so that they did not give any advantage to their competitors. Information was not circulating. Nowadays:

The money side would make it difficult but the actual archaeologists themselves are actually talking to each other...so there’s a lot more cross-fertilisation than there was...it’s long overdue. I think they just realised it got to a point that you couldn’t work in isolation, you needed to work with the others to get the picture that, they were all working towards the same goal to tell the story of London. You just can’t do it in isolation (pers. comm., Hall, 2012: 19).

5.2.5.2 Collaboration

Observations from the research showed that staff of contractors are friendly with each other – on a personal basis – but that because they are always in direct competition to win jobs, the idea of collaboration inevitably becomes more difficult. 54.3% of the interviewees who responded to the question of whether units collaborate said that they do not: there was a strong view that units collaborate on joint ventures because it is in the best interest for the client (by minimising risks of obstacles/failure to deliver if there is a joint venture) or because it is a project in which they do not have all the resources and to put them in an advantage to win the bid, they collaborate (e.g. pers. comm., Sidell, 2012: 21, 26). Some units have never collaborated with others, and this can root down to personalities not wanting to work with each other, or other historical reasons, such as one unit offering another unit their staff for a job, and the latter unit ‘stealing’ the staff by offering them better pay or conditions (pers. comm., Tecirli, 2012: 22; pers. comm., Jennings, 2013: 7).⁹⁹ Retaining good staff is a key issue for units, particularly if the unit has invested in their training. Some ‘units will cut their costs so much so they end up losing money over the long term, but they end up keeping their staff employed’ (pers. comm., Sidell, 2012: 13).

5.2.5.3 Winning Contracts and Dropping Prices

The problem comes in at this point, where units know each other quite well, and how each other

⁹⁹ Two additional participants pointed out the practice of ‘stealing’ staff, however they wish to remain anonymous. I add it here as it is an important point to raise in terms of understanding trust, collaborative efforts and sharing resources

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work and tender, that frustrations arise: ‘There are a few known organisations that have a reputation for doing the absolute minimum or pitching at the absolute minimum’ (pers. comm., Hinton, 2012: 12). The practice of ‘cutting corners’ reveals many issues in relation to how archaeology is functioning, the role of the IfA and GLAAS standards, concerns of fragmentation versus solidarity, and of course the notion of placing profit above the resource (these topics are discussed in Chapter 8 in a larger context). Off record, I was told that particular units have a reputation (recall Section 2.2.1 on reputation being an attribute of power) and getting jobs based on an established reputation, but doing ‘shoddy’ work and not maintaining high standards. Units feel that this sort of behaviour puts them at a disadvantage, and also puts the profession under risk as developers get used to cheaper tenders. Again, in confidence, contract archaeologists complained:

One thing that does frustrate me is that we’re in a commercial industry where sometimes you’re fighting over the scraps...I try to make sure we produce a good level on-site and also in terms of the products we produce. ...there are some units you can leave them to it and trust them and know they’d do a good job properly. [With others] it’s a bloody nightmare, they don’t know what they’re doing. For me, it’s frustrating that I’m trying to compete on what’s supposed to be a level playing field, where I know I’ve got good archaeologists who know what they’re doing. People would send out someone who doesn’t know what they’re doing...

Council archaeologists, the quality varies hugely. Some are people who have come from commercial archaeology...that really know their stuff. Others are weirdo council jobs-worth that don’t know it. Some of those ones that we talked about might be a bit firmer and nippity but at least you know they want something done properly and are going to make sure it’s done properly. Other ones, they just let shoddy work go through (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

Of course, when you are working in an industry that is based on winning contracts, it can be quite upsetting to see that a finite resource is being put second because contractors are under-bidding so much so that it would be impossible to do a decent job. There are structures in place that make it the duty of the county archaeologist to check on standards, but there are a lot of complications involved with this. For example, most times, the job has already been done, and to then *not* discharge the planning conditions for the developer who has paid for an IfA-registered unit is a very political and controversial issue (see Section 7.2.2.3 for similar situation in NYC). These issues must be handled internally, with standard-setting bodies. At the same time, the process of competitive tendering make it somewhat difficult as well. Tim Williams mentions that post-Thatcher, there was a breakdown between quality and the decision-making process involved in competitive tendering:

The problem with competitive tendering is that it’s based around...price...So a developer who is tendering for the work on construction, actually does care about the quality of construction. They’re not necessarily going to take the lowest bid - because they’re bothered about the quality of delivery in that process. So price would be a big factor, but quality of delivery will also be a factor. Developers don’t have diddly squat interest in the quality in delivery in archaeology: they don’t know whether it’s a good report or a bad report; they don’t know whether it’s an appropriate level of sampling or

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an appropriate level of comparative analysis or whatever. They don't care. They're going to look at the price. Now, theoretically, the County Archaeologist or EH in London, are the ones who are trying to be the arbiter of that quality. But the practice is, they don't have the staffing, the ability to intervene in so many projects to really be able to sift against quality (pers. comm., Williams, 2013: 24).

5.2.5.4 The Role of Consultants

To add to the pressures of the commercial sector, there is also the role of another private group, the consultant, also considered the 'hydra-headed monsters' (pers. comm. anon., 2012; interestingly same term used in NYC by pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 15). Consultants are generally employed by developers to oversee planning conditions: they contract archaeologists to conduct the necessary archaeological requirements necessary to receive planning permission. Sometimes those who handle the archaeology conditions may have trained or worked in archaeology prior. A former consultant reveals:

What was happening was [consultants] were able...to provide an easy life for planning advisors, and say, you know all those planning applications - I'll do it for you! I've come up with a strategy that if you care to read and sign off, that's it, it's sorted. We'll come up with a deal...It was a poker game! They were coming in, making an assessment which - to be quite blunt - what they could get away with, tell their client what they reckon it would cost, and their savings using them. And those deals were cut. Those were real deals. Never written on paper. What they also moved on to doing was profit-sharing. About profit sharing between contracts, etc. And I know those deals were done...Off the record conversations with advisors. At home. You scratch my back I'll scratch your back. You give us leeway on this project, I'll help you out on another. Playing both sides. (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

Indeed the role of the consultant is dubious at best. At least, of course, in the eyes of the archaeologist. Another conversation led to the 'corruption of contract archaeology':

Well, not necessarily dirt payment...but there is corruption in the tendering system and all these things...cause it's inevitable the construction industry has always been a law unto itself. There's a bunch of gangsters! And if you think archaeology can play around in the corrupt field of development and stay clean, you're an idiot (pers. comm., Moshenska, 2012: 30).

I asked Michael Dawson from one of archaeology's most reputable consultancy, CgMs, about his thoughts of archaeologist perceptions towards consultants:

Well, they think we've done a deal with the devil really! Some view us like that. I think...the perception from the outside is that consultants make a lot of money, they try and take advantage of the field contractors, they try and misrepresent or over-represent their clients interest when discussing what is appropriate with local authorities, and that they – generally speaking – devalue heritage. That would be my perception of the prejudice against consultants (pers. comm., Dawson, 2012: 9).

Indeed, being a consultant is a ruthless profession, with no need to collaborate between one another. However, they are not always cast in a negative way:

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They are aware of the ambiguity of their position and under the vast majority of cases I have seen, they will attempt to meet a fair compromise which represents both the archaeological interest and their employer's interest. It is an extremely hard place to be! ...They will always try to do their best (pers. comm., Flatman, 2012: 11).

The role of consultants in the planning process is extraordinarily powerful. Developers who do not wish to deal with all the bureaucracy and conditions of the planning process employ a consultant these days, to deal with employing all the contractors necessary to receive planning condition. In turn, consultants develop working relationships and networks with different contractors, and so ultimately a lot of the time, they become 'return customers' to archaeological contractors. What this means is that, if a unit is easy to work with, does not cause trouble, gives a decent quote, and gets the job done to the standard that planning conditions are discharged; there is a very good chance they will have a return customer (e.g. pers. comm., Dawson, 2012: 12). A lot of the issues raised here are discussed in Section 5.3 and later in Chapter 8 for discussion.

5.2.6 *Local Societies*

Local societies have played a long and important role in the growth of archaeology, with over 150 years of history behind many of them. There are, quite encouragingly, far too many local societies across London and the UK, many of them small and unknown, to make any sweeping statements about their role, membership and activities. Throughout the research, views about their lost powers and removal from the process of archaeology were commonplace. However, it seems to be an exaggerated reaction: all sectors have had to renegotiate their input, activities and place within archaeology – and although roles have shifted or changed, local societies are no less integral to the process. It is true that contractors have predominantly taken over development-led excavations necessary under law, as they are the ones with the resources, manpower and skills to work on complex sites under construction, with limited time.

Local societies are exactly what their name suggests: they are local groups that have a common interest in a particular area. Because of the history of local societies and the role that the members have played in the development, rescue, or protection of archaeology, it is common narrative that societies now feel 'excluded' from archaeology. This is far from true. Local societies continue to be in a strong position in relation to their local environment, and as mentioned in Section 3.3.3, we are in a socio-political environment where the duty of the citizen – as watchdogs -is even more important than it ever was.

The Chairman of HADAS commented:

There's a characteristic of local societies: they do lectures in the winter; they do visits in the summer; and if they possibly can they'll find a little dig somewhere if they can do it. They do a monthly newsletter [...] the lectures, I try to get good lecturers. But we can't afford the big big names. I try to get people involved in archaeology (pers. comm., Cooper, 2012: 34).

Local archaeological or historical societies are set up to provide a range of opportunities for those interested, such as talks, visits, walks, fieldwork activities, publications and other activities that help learn more about your local area, or specific interest. One of the concerns is that the groups are predominantly elder, however, as was pointed out in an interview, they were *always* made up mostly of elder folk (pers. comm., Keily, 2013: 9). Whether elder or younger, people will always continue to have an interest in their local history.

The extent of a local societies' activity is based largely on the leadership, their funds, and their membership. Some are more involved directly with their Councils and archaeologists, while others are a bit more reclusive. They 'tend to be a very self-selecting group of white middle-class elderly people. I've got nothing against that, but are they actually the best representatives of the millions of people who are demonstrably interested in archaeology but actually wouldn't be interested in joining one of those local groups?' (pers. comm., Bateman, 2012: 21). Don Cooper (pers. comm., 2012: 10) supports this by confirming, they, 'live in an isolated world...they don't have any feelings of London beyond their patch'. But local societies should not be expected to represent the larger public, they are merely – as said earlier – a local group interested in their area. And they can provide a lot of benefits for archaeologists in terms of knowledge, aid, and local information. One interview rightly comments, 'there is no reason...why you cannot have professionals and the volunteer sector working incredibly closely together without one compromising the other' (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

Those who are concerned with the direction that archaeology is heading, and critical of what they perceive as the current insular direction development-led archaeology is taking, will reproduce discourses of the demise of local societies and death of volunteers, because it gives a coherent and attractive interpretation of the current system under commercialised archaeology. The reproduction of this discursive narrative is justified through the shift in power due to policy changes that resulted in less opportunity for enthusiasts, or more sentimentally, those that did not do it for money or profit.

Andrew Selkirk of *Current Archaeology* advocates, being *independent* archaeologists, there is a powerful position that local societies can continue to play within this current system (Selkirk, 2011). In short, when free from dependency on other bodies for finance or some sort of security, one can become 'a voice for the resource'. But, when asked if there is any sentiment of feeling unappreciated in local societies, Chairman of HADAS (pers. comm., Cooper, 2012: 33) exclaimed, 'of course there is! Because they can't see what their role is!' So, again here, we see an issue about renegotiating roles and activities (Section 2.2.1), but also about the need for professionalisation's definition as creating a distance with so-called amateurs (Section 1.4.2).

On picking up through my research that local societies were suffering somewhat, I was put in my place during my interview with Geoffrey Wainwright when I asked:

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What do you think of local societies now? They were quite prominent a few decades ago but now because of health and safety or the rise of commercial units, they've taken a back seat.

His ardent response caught me off guard, but in truth was pleasantly reassuring and comforting:

Oooooooo Hana! Now now now now! I hope you have a sound basis for saying that! You'd be run out of town! I speak as a member of several local archaeological societies and the president of another one. I think what you've just said is quite wrong! The societies are thriving - they're doing well. And they attract enthusiastic groups to their lectures and publications... You've been reading too much Current Archaeology!! (pers. comm., Wainwright, 2012: 17)

5.2.6.1.1 Membership and Experience in Local Societies

The responses from the survey showed that there is still a relatively decent level of membership to local societies (Figure 30). Out of the responses, the majority of respondents are part of a local society. LAMAS and COLAS are also included in the figure below and those are the two societies that were specifically asked about in the survey – as they had been highlighted as the main or largest in London – however there were a lot of societies named.



Figure 30 LDN Survey: Membership results.¹⁰⁰

In regard to having experience in local societies, work-wise or voluntarily, 39.1% of survey

¹⁰⁰ Membership is not mutually exclusive so percentage does not total 100% but rather indicates percentage of survey respondents.

participants claimed they had no voluntary or work experience. I was curious to see whether there was any relationship between age and experience in years.

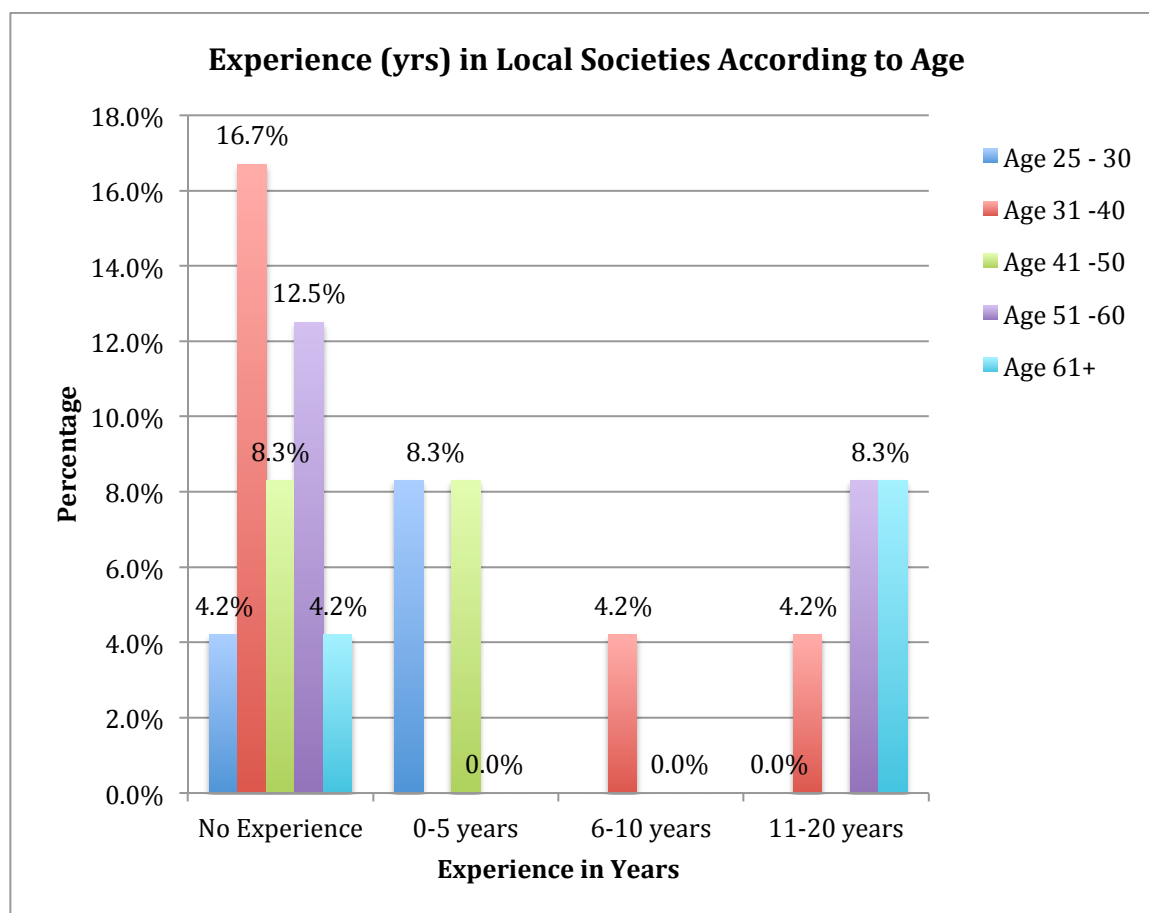


Figure 31 LDN Survey: Experience in local society in relation to age bracket

As we can see from Figure 31, although small, there is a continuous flow of different ages that are somehow involved in local societies. We observe that a younger generation has recently become involved, and that over time they continue. The results also reveal that participants aged 31 to 40 fell predominantly under the no experience sector, which could be related to their entrance into archaeology coming in around the 90s or early 2000s. Could it be this synchronises with the advent of the professional during the post-PPG16 days?

As for those involved for 11 years or higher, the results show the age range represented the most is from 51 up – which logistically makes sense. It also demonstrates a sense of loyalty. In fact, 56.4% of the interviewees demonstrated what I considered an allegiance, or loyalty, to a particular local group. I interpreted this so-called allegiance by participants commenting on groups such LAMAS, or HADAS, and giving the impression of support despite perhaps even confessing they might not get anything out of it:

There are a couple of organisations...which I don't know why I'm a member. It's loyalty. Offering support. A lot of county societies, I have very little to do with them,

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I'm not that sure what their role is these days - but I don't wish to withdraw my support (Survey Participant).

Indeed, local societies are important. Out of 15 people who responded to the survey question, only 1 responded that local societies were of no importance. Similarly with how their overall impact was perceived, a staggering 80% voted it was between fair and outstanding.

5.2.7 *Other Lobbying, Pressure, or Learned Groups*

There are a lot of various groups that undertake different roles, some unique, some potentially overlapping with others and causing petty frictions here and there (see <http://heritagehelp.org.uk/organisations>). Those that have not been mentioned in depth include the Society of Antiquaries, a learned society; CBA London, a new local group whose main role is advocacy, which has also taken over the London Archaeological Forum (LAF); and Rescue, a pressure group. These groups all try to raise awareness in their different ways. I analysed whether interviewees felt there were too many organisations in London archaeology, and it was an equal split between yes and no (Figure 32).

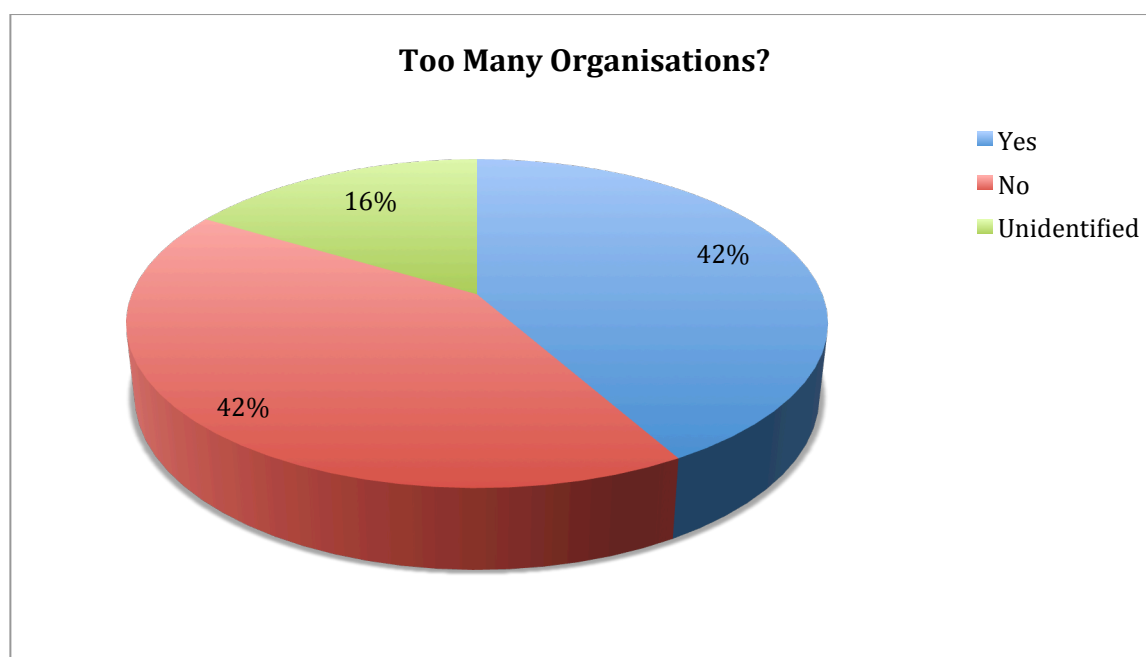


Figure 32 LDN Interviews: Perceptions on the range & number of organisations

One of the key points about many these groups is that they pride themselves on receiving funding from their own membership or from sources that do not influence or have an impact on their ability to speak freely and stand up for particular causes. 'In a way it's a kind of utopian position, we don't have to look at the external factors', says an affiliate of RESCUE (pers. comm., Howe, 2012: 17).

While it is true that too many organisations may be overwhelming, the alternative option risks isolating particular audiences and groups that are loyal to any organisation for their own reasons. In addition, it does offer individuals to attend events or access information at their convenience. The issue of having a central hub which presents events, publications and information of various groups, or signposts researchers to expertise, would be a benefit.

5.3 Emerging Themes

Through an analysis of all the 55 interviews conducted in London, a variety of themes have emerged which can be comparable and transferable to the larger context of archaeology in urban contexts. Here, I have pulled out three of the main themes I believe are most relevant, although the data is a rich source that will provide much more research and publications based on a variety of other subjects and themes. They are explored here in relation to London (and in Chapter 7 in relation to NYC). The comparative chapter (Chapter 8) discusses these emerging themes in relation to global cities using out three main themes brought up in the Chapter 1.

Through the data collected we can extract particular narratives that are *associated* with particular events in time. I emphasise associated as some of the narratives are a response to, but not actually a result of, events. The data provided is emotive and sometimes does not necessarily correlate or sit with events discussed in Chapter 4, as we see later in this chapter, but are nevertheless ‘true’ in the sense that a large proportion of people believe or feel in particular ways, and those perceptions create consequences and environments. They also hold weight in terms of concepts that are associated with urban cultures.

A distinction between what archaeologists believe the profession needs versus their personal opinion on actual existing organisations is revealed: for example, archaeologists may feel we *need* a professional body, a lobbying body, a pressure group, or a public outreach body; however opinions of the bodies as they exist are quite a separate issue. Furthermore, narratives on *why* particular dynamics are the way they are, may be pinpointed to particular events, which may not actually be justified by facts.

The capacity building over the past 40 years has led to shifts in power-bases, and changing dynamics between various groups. This section unpacks those dynamics: the three themes are *The Holistic Approach; Collaboration, Communication, and Information Flow; and The Role of the Individual and the Importance of Networking.*

5.3.1 *The Holistic Approach*

One of the main themes chosen as a key part of discussion is about creating and supporting an environment which promotes a holistic approach towards the process of archaeology. This is a

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hugely important topic and, in fact, can easily be linked with the two other key themes addressed here. In this section we look at the Holistic Approach in relation to London, however it is raised again in Chapter 8 during the comparative analysis of each city.

5.3.1.1 Support, Well-being and Issues of Funding

As discussed in Section 2.2.1, support plays an important part of increasing efficient performance, providing an environment which creates well-being of social relationships, and also is required for creating a cohesive and strong community. It also helps to create a balance in power dynamics through the provision of necessary resources (whether that is financial or ideological), which in turn allows a community of social capital to thrive (see Section 5.3.3.4). The two sub-themes we discuss in this section are ideological support and financial support (from government and other non-archaeological bodies). Section 5.3.3.3 returns to the issue of support in relation to archaeologist's work environment (internal support).

5.3.1.1.1 External Support

In Figure 26 we saw how archaeology is limited by multiple layers, such as policy, government support and other national or international factors, which was put into the London context in Chapter 4. The feeling of being crushed by austerity measures or sidelined from government support causes additional internal tensions as frustrations rise. 57.1% feel that archaeology could easily be pulled from the planning system: this sort of insecurity puts archaeologists in a position where they do not feel they can 'rock the boat' or speak up when they think something is not right or needs addressing (Figure 33).

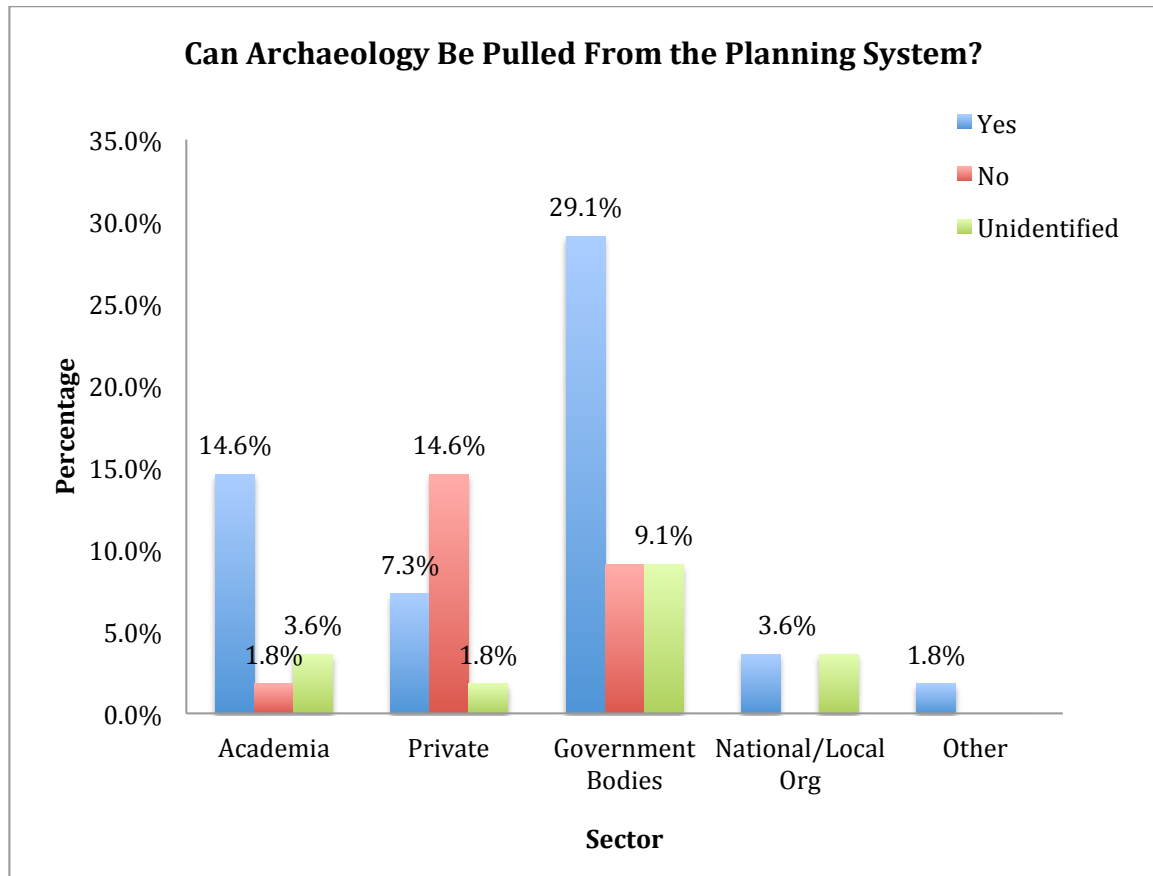


Figure 33 LDN Interviews: Perceptions on the security of archaeology in the planning system

We can see from above that it is predominantly the government officials and academics who feel that archaeology is under a greater threat, than those in the private industry.

I think, unfortunately, it's a sitting duck and if the big national construction industries were to get together and say this is an unreasonable charge on development in a time when it is vital for the construction industry and so forth, I think a lot of politicians would listen to them. I think it is a problem (pers. comm., Biddle, 2012: 46).

The issue is part of the fact that archaeology in the planning system is dependent on developers. While some developers may or may not be interested in archaeology, they are the ones that pay for a service which they may (a) not understand in terms of receiving quality work; (b) not care to pay for the service which they feel neither benefits them nor the community in which they are developing. The industry group is also quite powerful in terms of their impact on government.

There is a very active lobby who would like to not particularly consider archaeology, who would like further stream-lining of all planning rules. We are experiencing it right now. ... Recent changes, this further weakening of the planning system...that is part of a very active lobby indeed (pers. comm., Flatman, 2013: 31, see also 36).

On the other hand, contractors seem to believe that archaeology is a part of the protection for the

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environment, and do not realistically see that as being scraped from legislation. It would have to go far beyond national legislation and also be a move that European law decides on.

I think it's now sufficiently established to go on. It doesn't have an existential threat, as it were. Obviously with austerity and cuts, it always has waxed and waned with the economic prosperity. It's an optional extra you do when there are funds available, as a profession (pers. comm., Baillie, 2012: 3).

My observations are that archaeologists feel that both government and developers are waning in support of archaeology. Part of this can be combated by archaeologists demonstrating the importance and value of archaeology through further education, public outreach and inclusion of society. However this is particularly difficult to accomplish when there is a lack of resources or funding dedicated to such endeavours.

There is still a lot of improvement required now that archaeology is under the planning system. 90.9% of the interviewees agree that archaeology under the current system needs improving (Figure 34).

Figure 34 below shows particular recurring points that were teased out of interviews after they were all conducted and then analysed. These points highlight the concerns archaeologists raise. Although these points are not an issue about archaeology within the planning system per se, the way that it is structured is such that archaeology is not getting the support required for high-quality outcome.

Interestingly, when you look at the sectors that these responses have come from, the picture painted is quite compelling (Figure 35). For the positive outcomes, both government bodies and contract scored higher than the other sectors; for the negative outcomes, again, government scored high, but this time followed by academia.

Percentage of interviewees who agree that archaeology under the planning system:	
Has a positive effect on employment	78.7%
Has a positive effect on money coming in	79.6%
Has a positive effect on increasing standards	62.2%
Does not support the enforcement of standards	70.2%
Does not support the ability to monitor	64.1%
Does not support publications	65.1%
Does not support public outreach	74.5%
Does not support synthesis of work	84.1%

Figure 34 LDN Interviews: Opinions on archaeology under the planning system

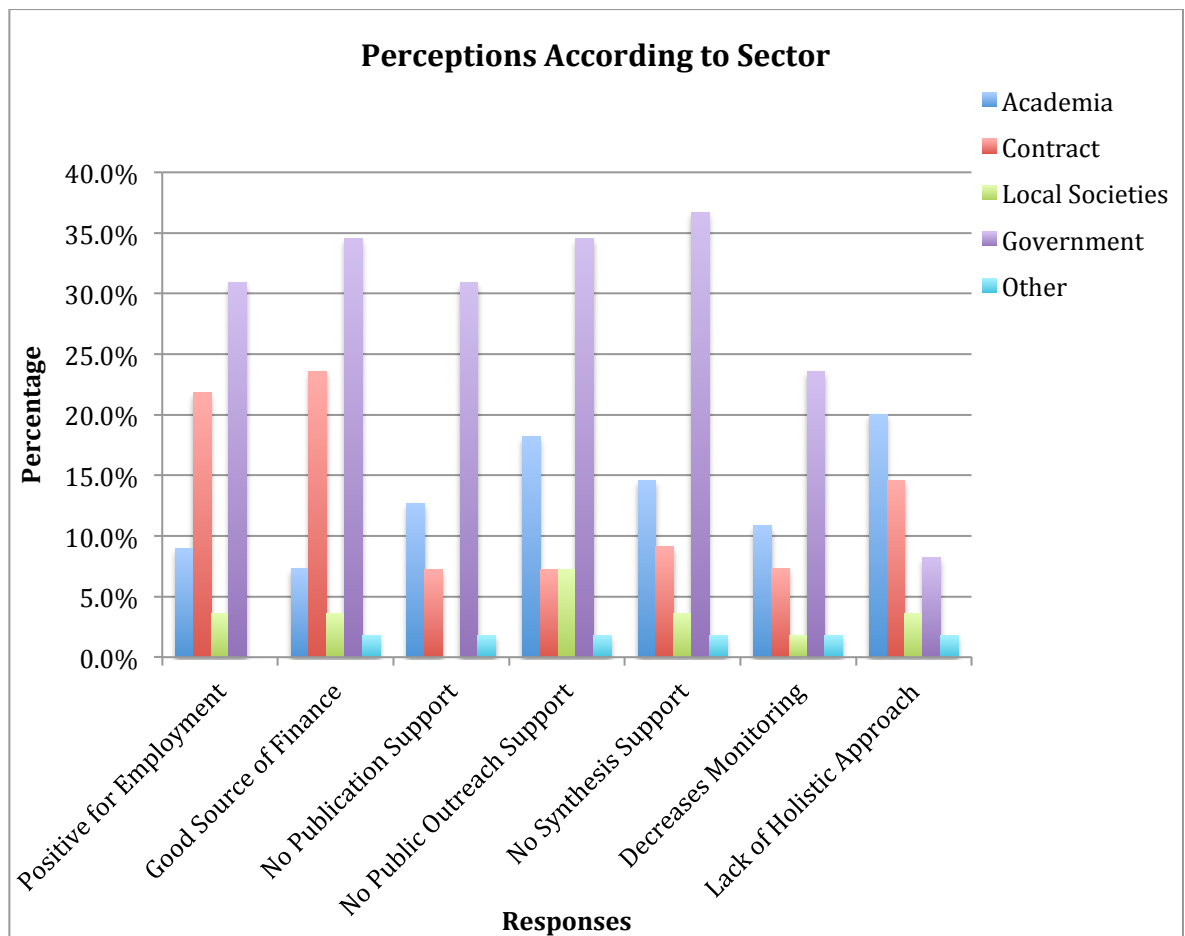


Figure 35 LDN Interviews: Impacts of archaeology under planning system

Dominic Perring explains:

Because the planning regime is the driving force, there has been a strong emphasis on the resource, managing the resource, cultural resource management, and that hasn't been balanced with equal attention to the broader social benefits of the work, community archaeology, public archaeology, outreach, training, education...

I think that when public funds drove the exercise, there was a greater sense of their being some form of public benefits back. It has to be said that before our management systems were less developed because we were less driven by the requirements of clients....

There was a sense, there was an environment that encouraged that broader narrative. Which has to be said, is still firmly...the archaeological community is very well aware that without those broader social benefits and products that communities can appreciate, in the long-run we will lose the political backing for our profession. So we are collectively aware of the problems and there are moves to directly deal with. But it becomes difficult when the resources drive you towards these very specific requirements. And we are now in an over-aggressively project management environment. We went from being an under-management environment, where therefore there were stars and disasters and whatever, to a very heavily managed environment where the margins in working there are so tight that it becomes very difficult to justify doing anything beyond what's required beyond a project

requirement for a client (pers. comm., Perring, 2013: 7-8).

What is interesting is that the archaeological community is stuck between a few different issues that need proper addressing. External acknowledgment can come from both ideological support, generally manifested in policy, or through financial support, which we discuss in the coming section. Roger Thomas¹⁰¹ points out:

There needs to be a strong commitment to research on the part of the people doing this work. It's not easy to do, but how do you create the situation where people have got the time to have a good discussion with adjacent organisations about what they're finding, what it means and how you're going to get the best out of that work? That's why PPS5 and the NPPF are very good - because they do actually talk about advancing understanding as a result of development-led work; not simply making a record which was what PPG16 said. So the policy instrument is there. The desire that this work should result in increased understanding. But the archaeological community really needs to make use of that (pers. comm., Thomas, 2013: 29).

Thomas' point is crucial and raises key issues. It is one thing to have the policies in place, but two main factors play into its success: do we have that 'strong commitment'? And do we have the resources and financial support necessary to undertake further research? This is an extremely important point which is discussed in a greater context in Chapter 8: while policy may be there, if the instruments and resources required to effectively undertake the policy are squeezed, then the methods of support are contradictory. This is something to keep in mind for later, as NYC faces a very similar situation (see Section 7.3.1.1).

5.3.1.1.2 Securing Financial Support

The securing of financial support and opportunities in the 90s played a strong role on the decision-making processes for archaeologists and has also, more recently, impacted the landscape as different organisations fluctuate in terms of whether they are financially sustainable. It has also had a profound impact on the outcome of frameworks, where previous research-agendas have increasingly shifted into monetised territory. The turbulence experienced by the profession since then caused, says Cotton,¹⁰² archaeology to be a much more 'commercial cut-throat corporate business' (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 4).

Financial support is clearly not only an issue for archaeologists, but for a range of other professions dealing with cuts in funds mixed with a 'Big Society' rhetoric: an ideology which speaks of community empowerment and volunteerism while obscurely forcing volunteerism in areas that should have sustainable and on-going support.

101 Head of Urban Archaeology, EH. Previously Assistant Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and then Inspector for London (c. 1984)

102 Currently Freelance Archaeological Consultant (in Prehistory); previously Senior Curator of Museum of London from 1991-2011; from 1980-1991 Area Officer of the Museum of London

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The CBA and CBA London is a case in point. With funding cut from the British Academy, CBA has gone through restructuring and regional CBA groups now have to fend for themselves. CBA London in particular has had to rely purely on volunteers. Mike Heyworth, Director of CBA, explains:

...we've not been helped in the last few years by the fact that our funding has become very threatened and vulnerable, which has meant we've had to cut back our staffing and means that we can do less than we would have liked to have done. Which is a shame but that's just where we are. The aim now, in a sense, is to regroup and reconsolidate our position, and then try and build back again to do more of that in the future (pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 14).

A lack of funding undoubtedly requires restructuring and also results in a lot of key people becoming redundant, which for archaeology becomes a sort of 'talent-drain' (see Section 5.3.3.3). 'We're losing people who have knowledge capital at a rate of knots...' (pers. comm., Richardson, 2012: 19). Moshenska¹⁰³ points out even statutory requirements are under threat, and that people are:

...overworked, under-resourced. Bright interesting people with the capacity to do amazing things, create amazing work and do outreach, but they can't because they are stretched to breaking point and constantly in fear of having their jobs cut – some of them are having their jobs cut – it's a horrible anti-human situation (pers. comm., Moshenska, 2012: 18).

The security of financial support is a vast subject. It impacts projects and their continuity, the ability to keep staff, resources required to do essential job tasks, restructuring of responsibilities and roles, the imbalance of power dynamics due to scarcity, further competitive mindsets due to chasing the same funding bodies, among many other very important areas of archaeology. One crucial impact point which could umbrella the points mentioned above, is that it disrupts collaboration and information flow. We look at this in the next section.

5.3.1.2 Collaboration, Communication and Information Flow

The change of the archaeologist's working environment which had previously created space for intellectual dialogues led to a fall in collaborative efforts and a sense of inability to work beyond set roles. This huge impact relates back to previous discussions in Section 2.2 in terms of how a lack of a supportive environment affects motivation and innovation. The breakdown of formal networks, and the lack of time and resources to support collaboration, the ability to produce achievable higher outcomes are disrupted, along with the benefits of social capital and of agglomeration and innovation (discussed in context to the global city in 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.5). The new organisational landscape and consequential relation-dynamics, in effect, obstructs collaboration (Figure 36).

103 Lecturer at UCL and Community Archaeologist

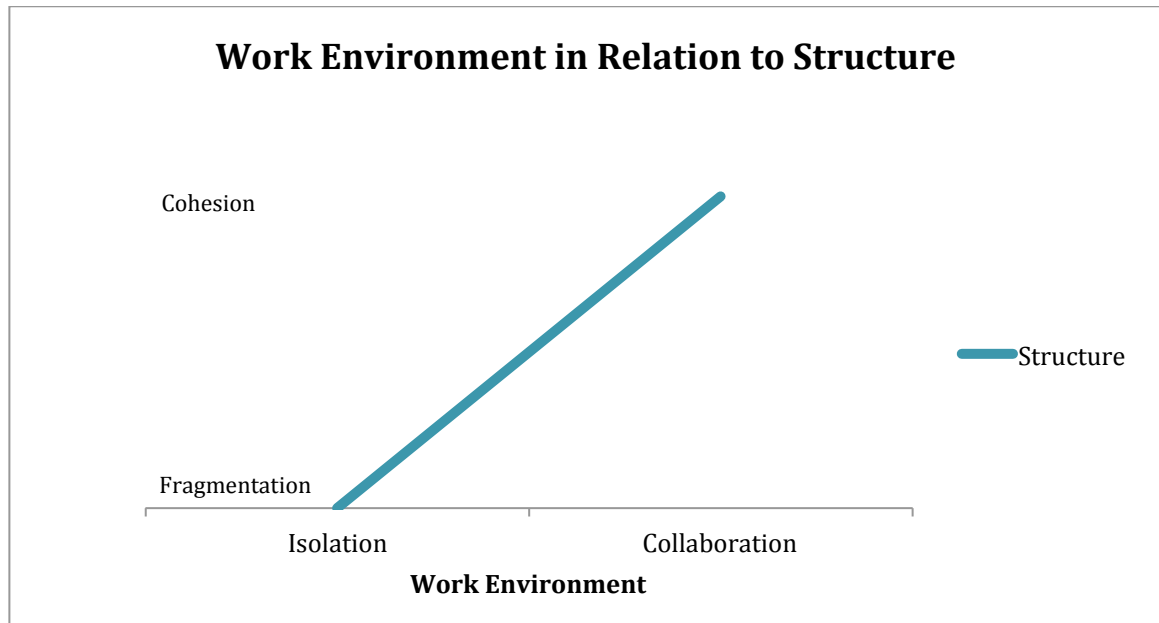


Figure 36 Relationship between structure and work environment

The issue of collaboration and communication are occasionally taken light-heartedly. They can be understood as vague ideas or terms that do not necessarily have formal applicability. It is furthermore difficult to understand levels of collaboration and communication through measurable indicators. For example, do two companies collaborating in a joint venture constitute collaboration? Or is a group of a few people discussing graveyards communication? Sometimes these activities are friends simply getting together to do a project or discuss an interest, while other times it is ‘force of necessity’ required for –say- commercial purposes or overcoming risks factors (pers. comm., anon, 2012). Irrespective of formal or informal modes of collaboration and communication, the end goal is to increase the flow of more knowledge and data. The need to establish stronger channels is necessary.

Wainwright (pers. comm., 2013: 9-10) points out that information flow remains a problem, but we continue to work towards synthesising information and data. While there are plenty of efforts – such as initiatives by the Bournemouth University, the Reading University, the OASIS project, publications, and so on – more needs to be done (see Section 5.3.1.2).

Collaboration and communication need to be understood in terms of structure. Mike Heyworth,¹⁰⁴ Director of the CBA, comments:

...one of the unfortunate things about some of the organisations in archaeology and about some of the ways that archaeology is structured [is] it promotes competition, not collaboration...(pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 4).

The structure of archaeology is a key issue. I observed that archaeologists working in London

¹⁰⁴ Director at Council of British Archaeology from 2004 to present. Previously worked for English Heritage. Awarded MBE in 2007.

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were very passionate about the profession, and there was only a small percentage that see the community as completely fragmented. We can see similar results from the survey: the consensus is that while the archaeological community does cooperate and collaborate, there are simply no channels nor infrastructure in place for this to be carried out to the best potential (Figure 37).

Response Options	Percentage %
Works together well as a whole and has a good level of collaboration and cooperation	14.1%
Works together, collaborates and cooperates only when necessary	21.9%
Does not have the work relationships or structures in place for collaborative work to the best potential	23.4%
Is fragmented with isolated organisations unaware of what others are doing, and failing to collaborate or cooperate	7.8%
No Response	32.8%
Total	100 %

Figure 37 LDN Survey: Perceptions on collaboration and cooperation

The opinion that there are not enough channels in place is brought up again in Section 5.3.3.2, which unpicks the discussion further through exploring how archaeologists feel there are too many organisations, yet simultaneously feel there are not enough channels. Later sections also look at the relationship between informal and formal channels of communication, in order to address concerns of a fragmenting community.

Similarly, survey participants also thought communication channels could be improved (Figure 38).

Perceptions on the Level of Communication in London's Archaeology Community	
Response Options	Percentage %
Very good between all groups	1.6%
Good but needs to be improved	25.0%
Average	15.6%
Very good between sections of groups	15.6%
Very poor and lacking	9.4%
No Response	32.8%
Total	100 %

Figure 38 LDN Survey: Perceptions of communication in community

It is hard to comprehend the extent of collaboration and communication without understanding the network structure in place, in that the community is built from a significant amount of people from shared roots or shared interests – whether that be the Museum of London, the Institute of Archaeology or some other interest group (see Section 5.3.3.4) – and so from individual interactions, a webs of networks are created. The issue is that these networks of bonding, bridging and relational ties are based on individuals – and so, if you are out of the network, it is not so easy to know who to contact or consult (e.g. pers. comm., Flude, 2012: 3, 24).

5.3.1.2.1 Comparative Study

While synthesis is a laborious activity which takes time, dedication and expertise to conduct, it is possible and has been done. The activity tends to be undertaken by archaeologists at the end of their careers or retired, who now have ‘time on their hands’ to dedicate to synthetic work. Equally, while the need for increased synthetic work does not go unnoticed, it is important to relate synthetic work opportunities within the broader context of the work environment. Synthetic work requires resources, support, communication, collaboration and an increased channel of information flow.

Clive Orton points out that ‘the big issue is the question of comparisons...it’s a comparative discipline...one site makes no sense, and you have to compare’ though most of the data and reporting is ‘not in a format that allows comparison very easily on a big scale without a lot of work’ (pers. comm., Orton, 2012: 37).

Figure 39 above shows how a huge percentage of those interviewed are concerned about the lack of a holistic framework which promotes synthesis and a wider regional understanding of the sites being dug up.

If we look further, we see some interesting relationships. First, 60% of interviewees who feel that there is a lack of a holistic approach are above 51 (Figure 40); and second, they are predominantly from the government section (Figure 41).

It is interesting that it is predominantly the elder generation that suggests there is a lack of a holistic approach. This is something to keep in mind for further discussions later on.

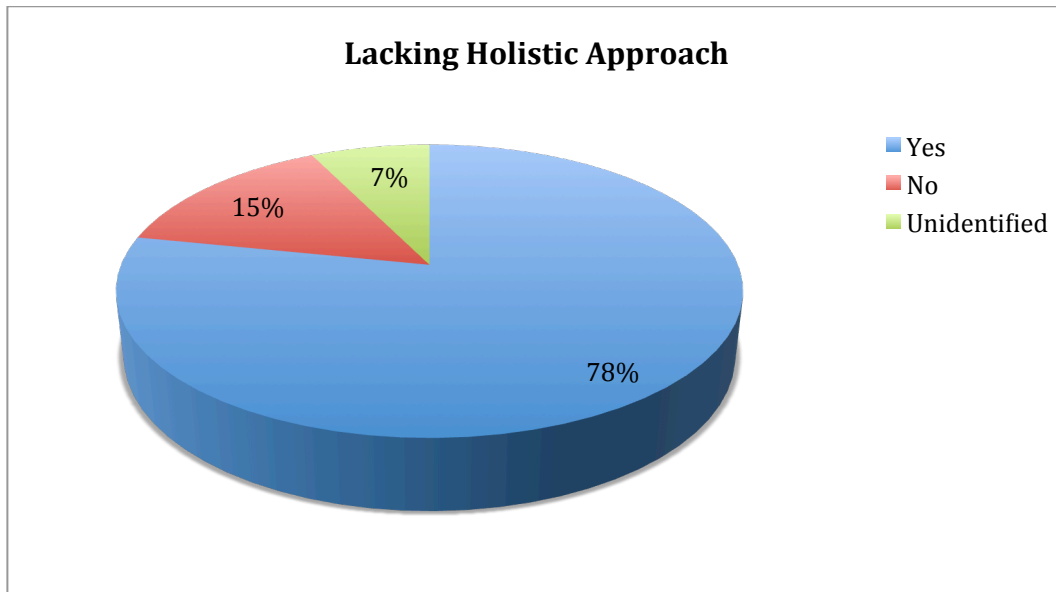


Figure 39 LDN Interviews: Perceptions of the presence of a holistic approach

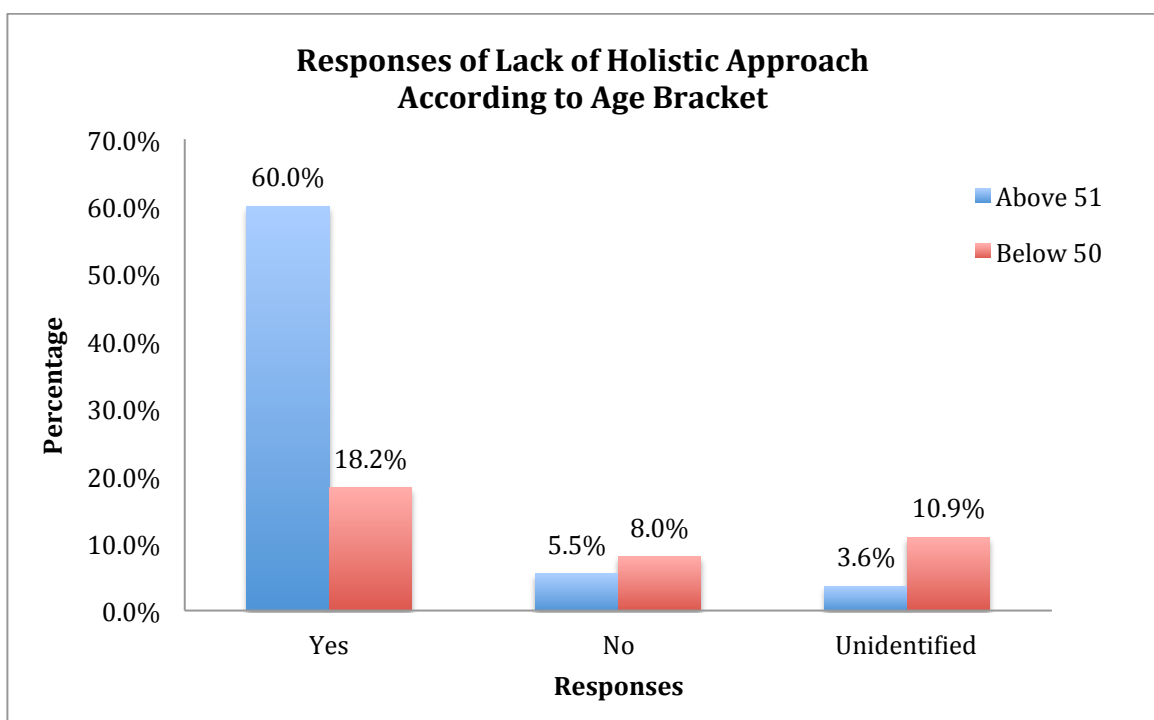


Figure 40 LDN Interviews: Participants age representation of holistic approach opinion

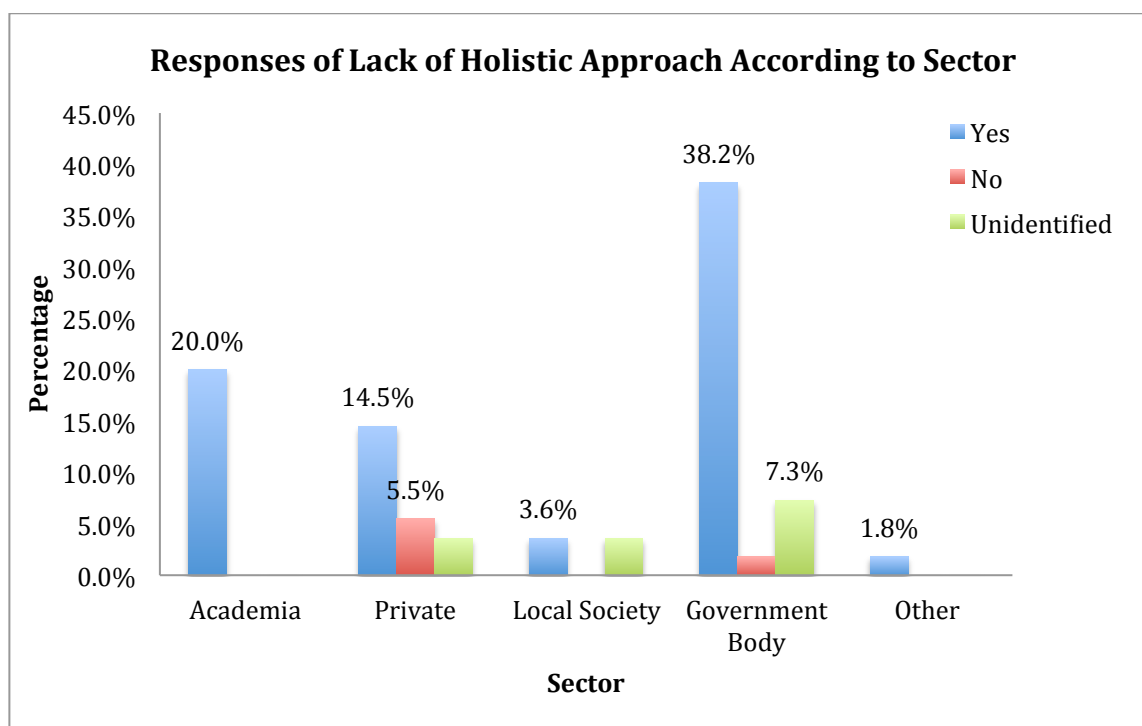


Figure 41 LDN Interviews: Breakdown of holistic approach according to sector

5.3.1.3 Competition

I have placed the topic of competition under Holistic Approaches, despite its capacity to relate to many themes throughout the research. The reader will notice that many of the themes are flexible in this regard, and so should be viewed with flexibility as opposed to categorically a part of one theme only.

It is difficult to separate the process of competitive tendering from whether there is an actual competitive environment beyond bidding for contracts. Competitive tendering undoubtedly changed the organisational and political landscape of archaeology with the need to tender and bid for jobs: the ‘whole process of competitive tendering, the very word competitive is in there’ (pers. comm., Williams, 2012: 27). We look at how this plays a part in lowering costs and promoting ‘underbidding’ in Section 5.3.2.3. However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that a competitive mindset came through competitive tendering alone. Indeed, competition – or rivalry – can also be intellectual, personal, and related to power attributes related to reputation, expertise, and building up of informative resources. We observe competitive mentalities in academia, local societies, governmental bodies and the private sector – however it becomes a concern when it hinders the comparative nature of archaeological study and the promotion and motivation to work towards a holistic approach.

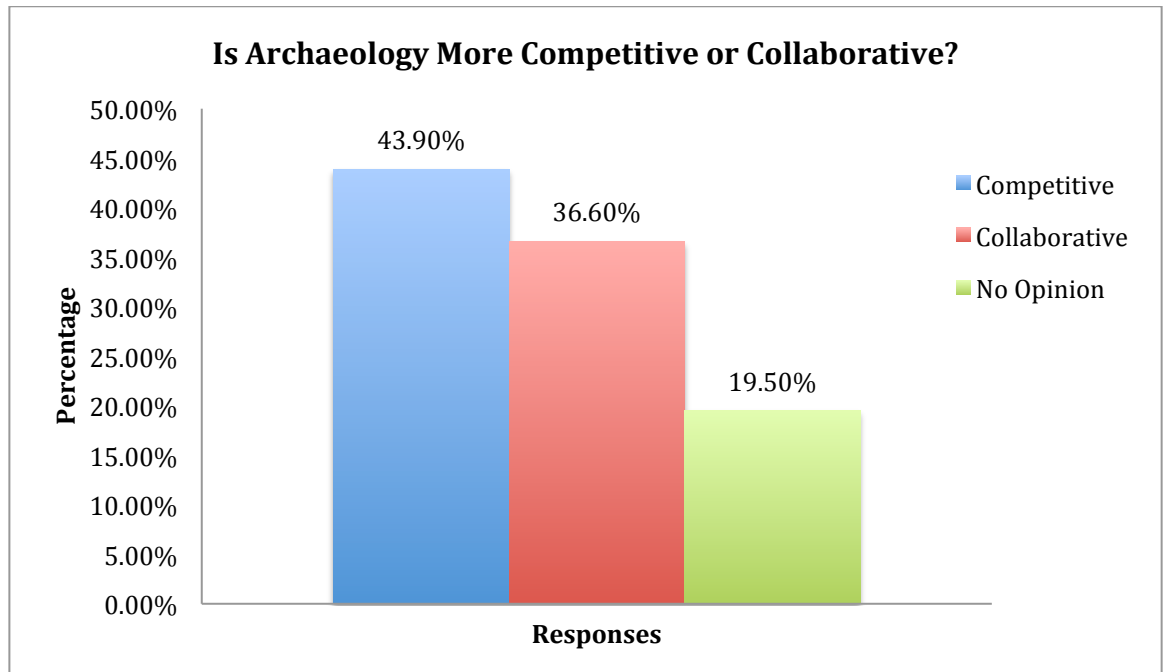


Figure 42 LDN Survey: *Is archaeology more competitive or collaborative?*

In the survey, at 43.9%, competitive came in 7.3% higher than collaborative (Figure 42), despite the question emphasising ‘*competitive tendering aside*’. Although the difference is small, it is surprising that given the option between one or the other, a significant percentage opted for competition.

Unpicking the results further, we see how it plays out in each sector.

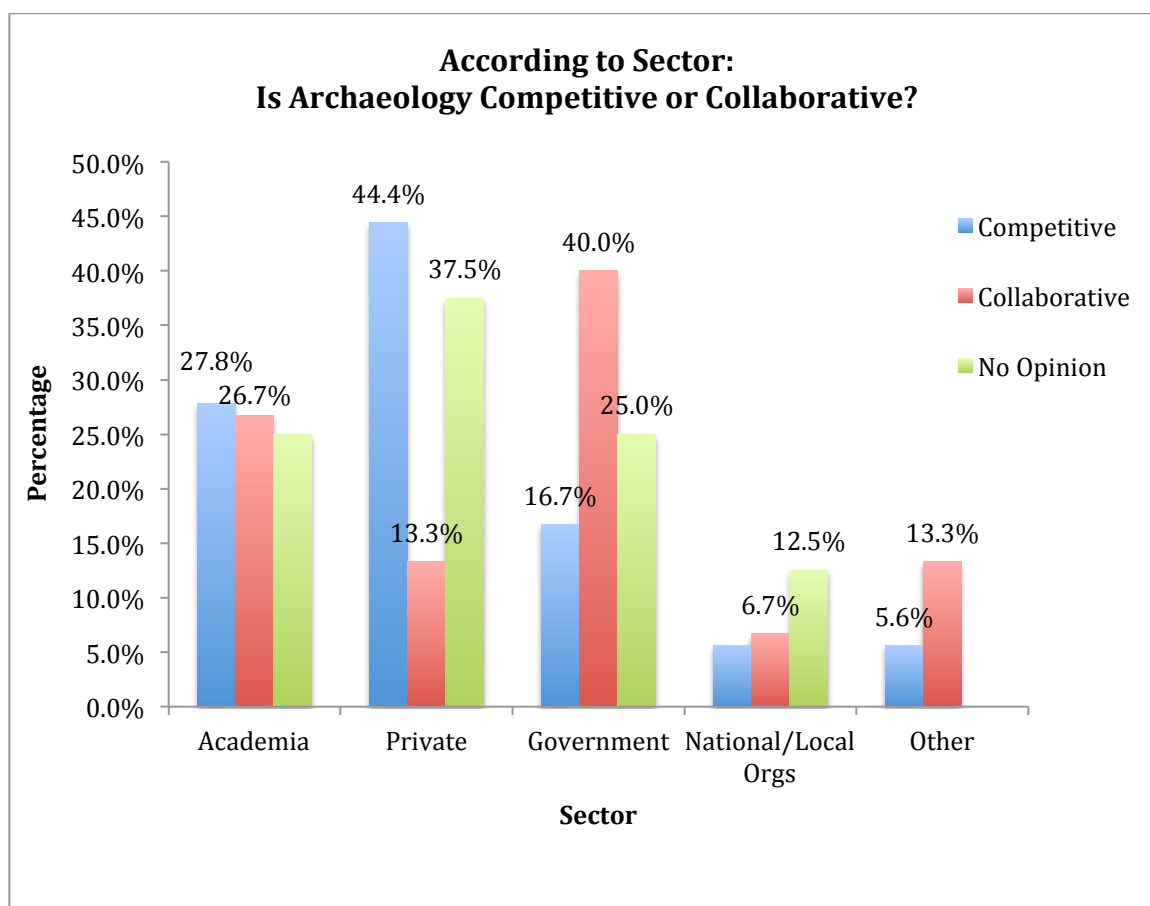


Figure 43 LDN Survey: Is archaeology competitive or collaborative according to sector

The results in Figure 43 are quite interesting. Again, the question asked the participant to ignore the process of competitive tendering. What we see is that the Private sector view archaeology as 31.1% more competitive than collaborative. The point here is that because of the very landscape in which they flourish – the market industry – they generally need to see all their resources, information, data and knowledge as an economic advantage. At the core of their company lies the objective to provide or offer something of a unique competitive advantage, or provide an added value unavailable elsewhere, for their customer and client.

Academia was an even split. Competitive scored at 27.8%; collaborative at 26.7% and No Opinion at 25%. Although academics benefit tremendously from collaboration, the competitive angle comes from a tendency to try and distinguish themselves by creating a common circle – or social identity – which necessitates exclusion (Section 2.2). Furthermore, it is crucial for academics to be able to access information, sites, data, expertise and resources (and this can often be exclusive or dependent on the academic's *power attributes* mentioned in Section 1.4.2. Academics are surprisingly put under immense pressures, largely from their institutions. We can power dynamics at play through, for example, preferences to experts in the field; the ability of reward through grants and funding; the use of coercion through management pressures or the

threat of loss of support; the use of positions of authority; reputation; and control over research and information. This is further discussed in Section 5.3.3.4 as we look at how networks, power dynamics and social capital play a large part in creating and developing objectives, values, expectations, interdependencies and other attributes such as authority, trust and expertise.

The government sector, on the other hand, has set roles with clear responsibility to assist the fluidity of the archaeological process. It would be counter-productive for them to be competitive, and destructive to their own role. Their survival and value in the larger landscape is based on how effective they integrate other sectors together into a functioning profession in a market environment. In short, the very survival of government bodies is through their ability to integrate and collaborate.

5.3.1.4 A Split in Archaeology: The Fragmented Community

This section is the last of *The Holistic Approach* theme. It looks at how the fragmentation of the organisational landscape has splintered outcomes.

Data from the interviews suggests 78.2% of the participants perceive there is a divide between the sectors. The reorganisation of who is doing what, how they are doing it, and who deals with it afterwards, escalates tensions between sectors. Each sector has their own roles based on the responsibilities they take on, and has in some cases pulled away from the needs of archaeology as an entire process. A lot of the issues raised above – such as the loss of central funding, waning external support, a blockage in information flow, have further disrupted a holistic understanding of sites and data yielded from projects.

Nick Bateman¹⁰⁵ from MOLA reflects on the archaeological cycle:

...Another big flaw has been and continues to be the fact that essentially the way it works is that you dig this site, you excavate it, you write up a publication on that site and that's that. Three years later, that site comes up, you write that site, you publish that. Then this site comes up, and you write that and publish that. But actually taken all together there's a much more interesting side, but there's no money for that. There is no developer-funding for that - the wider picture never gets discussed. Contracting archaeologists don't have either the time or the money to do it. Contracting archaeologists are always dealing with the next one and the next one and the next one. And they have to produce the report for the deadline for the developer. There is no opportunity or very little opportunity to say we've learnt this, this and that - and how does this change our wider picture of whatever - Saxons, Roman London...whatever. Themes. That is a big problem. Because to be honest, there are only so many times you can publish a report that's interesting that says we've found a load of postholes and pits...Whereas what you need to know is actually in this whole area...(pers. comm., Bateman, 2012: 24).

105 Director, Development Services at MOLA from 2012 to present; in MOLA since 1981 as Site Director, Post-excavation analysis, and Project Manager

Bateman's comment touches on a variety of issues, but also highlights the essential point that particular sectors are limited in terms of what they can afford to do, both time-wise and through the lack of resources.

'There is a much greater division now...post-PPG 16 between academia and professional archaeology...The structure of archaeology and finance militates against academic research within the profession. So the profession now produces a lot of professional documents, but in terms of synthetic research, not very much comes out of it' (pers. comm., Dawson, 2013: 12; see also pers. comm., Howe, 2012: 12).

A lot of it also boils down to London's organisational landscape being restructured through periods of amalgamation and fragmentation (discussed in Chapter 4) that individuals have created their own channels and groups. Different ideas or groups come and go, and during their lifespan, have different levels of interest, attendance and success.

'I think it's endemic across the country and is partly a produce of the history of development of the field, because it's developed so informally. With all the amateur groups, and Rescue archaeology, and then commercial units on top of that, and a curatorial tier and everybody wants to have a little committee and organisation and society to speak for them' (pers. comm., Single, 2012: 9).

This is something that ties into roles, relationships and the further professionalisation of archaeology (see Section 1.4.2 and 2.2). The idea of a split in archaeology has also been briefly touched in in Section 5.2.1.2 and Section 5.3.1.2, so we can see how a lot of these themes and sub-themes interrelate and are causes and consequences of one another.

5.3.2 *Standards, Values and Professionalisation*

This section predominantly highlights the mood in the archaeological environment. It is quite an important theme because it actually provides signals on areas which we – in directing our own profession – need to consider. In later chapters, we look at these themes in a larger context.

5.3.2.1 *Shifting Values*

As discussed in Section 1.4.2 (also see Figure 4) the development of professionalisation includes a sense of power, or empowerment and capacity to define who we are and build ourselves and our relationships proactively. The individual's self-perceptions and opinion of their role in greater society is what drives the profession, as each agent becomes part of a whole network community (see Figure 11).

After interviewing a handful of participants, which would later increase to over a hundred, it emerged archaeologists have strong core values and motivations. Although these 'values' are not

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defined here, it is clear they develop from (a) a belief that archaeology is important for society, and (b) that the role of an archaeologist is to do the archaeology justice.

In the survey, 70.6% of the participants believe that archaeological ‘values’ are under threat, mostly because ‘we have set up ourselves as a cheap’ profession. If we interpret this response using SNA concepts earlier, the idea that archaeologists feel their values are under threat also means that archaeologists are not happy with how they have conformed to gain professional legitimacy. There is a sense of archaeology becoming ‘corporate’ (see Section 2.2.1) which has decreased the decision-making power of archaeologists. We can see this through comments received in the survey. Comments on issues of why values are under threat from survey participants¹⁰⁶ include:

Too much fierce competition in the commercial sector and a lack of agreement regarding base-line costs means archaeological work is underpaid and under-valued by the development industry and others...(Contract Manager working in London)

Fragility of the legislative and policy framework, reduction in curatorial cover, lack of an integrated approach between branches of the discipline – and everything else in the Southport report, in fact!¹⁰⁷ (IfA Team)

The current economic climate is squeezing all aspects of construction and therefore squeezing the spend on archaeology and archaeological advice. Units are keen for work and sometimes it is felt that managers cut corners to obtain work, leaving field staff either very short of time, staff or equipment. (English Heritage team)

Longer hours, worse pay, bonus payments for early completion of projects, all mean that the core values of being a good archaeologist are under siege. (Senior Archaeologist working in London)

The current threat is summed up by the phrase “knowing the cost of everything and the value of nothing”. We are under increasing pressure to do everything quicker and cheaper, and much of this pressure is internal. (Senior Archaeologist working in London)

Archaeologists are forced to think about time, cost and delivery, and it has directly triggered the creation of explicit professional standards. Nevertheless, the absence of a sufficiently strong legal or policy framework requiring adherence to those standards, the presence of intense competition and economic stress all place pressure on standards; and market failure means that public benefit - the real purpose of all branches of archaeology - is frequently not viewed as the most important product. (CBA Team)

The idea that values are under threat also suggests that values are changing. We see this more clearly from the elder generation, which talk of the 80s in a different way. Sixty percent of those

106 Because survey participants are anonymous, I have identified their title or place of work so that the reader may have an insight as to the sector in which the comments come from.

107 The Southport report: ‘Realising the benefits of planning-led investigation in the historic environment: A Framework for delivery’ (2011) is a report published by a group of professionals from different sectors who formed a working party to creatively and radically think about how to practise and implement PPS 5. See <http://www.archaeologists.net/news/110713-publication-southport-report-%E2%80%93-%E2%80%98realising-benefits-planning%E2%80%93led-investigation-historic-e> for publication

interviewed in London agree that there is now a ‘spark’ gone that was previously experienced in the 70s and 80s:

There was certainly a loss of innocence...it was an entirely different world. It was archaeologists against the world in those days. Archaeologists as a breed, and there was a lot of mutual support amongst archaeologists who were perceived to be fighting a good fight. These days it's becoming much more of a commercial cut-and-thrust and if you see one unit go down or lose a tender, it means someone else has won it. So it's a dog-eat-dog world now. It's completely different from what it used to be (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 28).

The nostalgia can be criticised quite easily. The remaining 27.3% who are clearly against this view, reflect how working conditions have increased, the quality and legal requirement and recognition gained, and the quantity of money that is now coming into archaeology. This view of a spark lost, or values threatened (assumedly from what was before), is not about the legitimacy or benefits that we as a profession have won. In fact, negotiating pros against cons and realising that pros may far outweigh the criticisms of where archaeology is, is more destructive than constructive. I would argue that it is the very act of feeling that we have gained so much, and should be so grateful for where we are within the political system and the planning process, that simultaneously disempowers us and strips us from any effort to push for increased decision-making power. My observation is that archaeologists seem to be so shocked and impressed by the huge developments that have happened since the 1970s onwards, that they almost feel it is undeserved. And so there is this sense of fear:

the self-defeating aspect of archaeologists - they always have that sense of Armageddon around the next corner, someone's going to say I'm not paying for archaeology (pers. comm., Dawson, 2012: 16).

The sense that archaeology could be pulled from the planning system also led to discussions (many of which have been pulled from the record) about how expensive archaeology is for the developer, and how the general site may be dull and boring with potentially nothing interesting to report. This is surprising as archaeology, beside many other industries involved in development, is quite cheap. The fact that these comments were requested to be removed indicates that there is a conflict in how archaeologists actually value themselves.

My observation is that archaeologists feel disempowered and pressured through the tightening of resources and wavering support. So many of the archaeologists interviewed are so passionate about archaeology, however they are frustrated at their inability to dedicate their time and expertise on particular research due to the political landscape they are in.

5.3.2.2 Changes in Standards

Archaeology moving into the planning process is undoubtedly an incredible success, no one actually doubts that. While attending the 2014 *European Association of Archaeologists*

Conference in Istanbul, the struggle of a fellow archaeologist working under the Polish system where archaeology is *not* part of the planning process demonstrated how critical it is for archaeology to be tied in with planning and development applications. The alternative is devastating for cultural resources impacted by development. It is no surprise then that 76.2% of survey participants answered that standards in archaeology have improved under the planning system because archaeology has now become a formalised part of the process: guidelines, assessments, preparation, fieldwork, deposition of finds, reporting; these are all now standardised within a system with a set of professional standards developed by EH and the IfA.¹⁰⁸ While the renegotiation of roles and responsibilities changed the organisational and relational landscape, it simultaneously formed an organised complex structure that strengthened the need to focus and specialise within a particular niche of development-led archaeology. In that sense, the system and structure developed; but more importantly, got a stable source of income for each project. The survey results were triangulated by the interviews: 41.8% of interviewees agree that standards have increased. 25.4% disagree, and 16.4% say it standards remained the same (Figure 44).

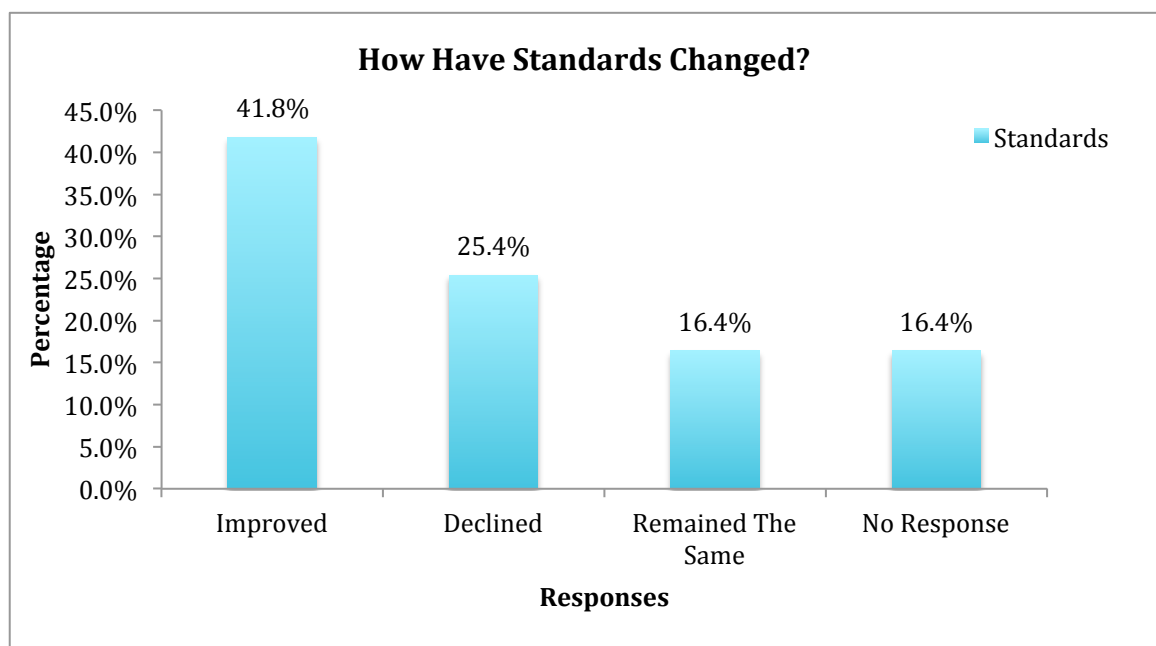


Figure 44 LDN Interviews: How have standards changed?

If we examine the data a little closer, they show us that most of those who actually see standards as increasing are from the contract and state sector, while 16.4% of those who feel standards have dropped are from academia (Figure 45). The survey results are quite similar in general, as demonstrated in Figure 46.

¹⁰⁸ See <http://www.archaeologists.net/codes/ifa> for IfA Standards and <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/advice/our-planning-role/greater-london-archaeology-advisory-service/glaas-publications/guidance-papers/> for GLAAS standards

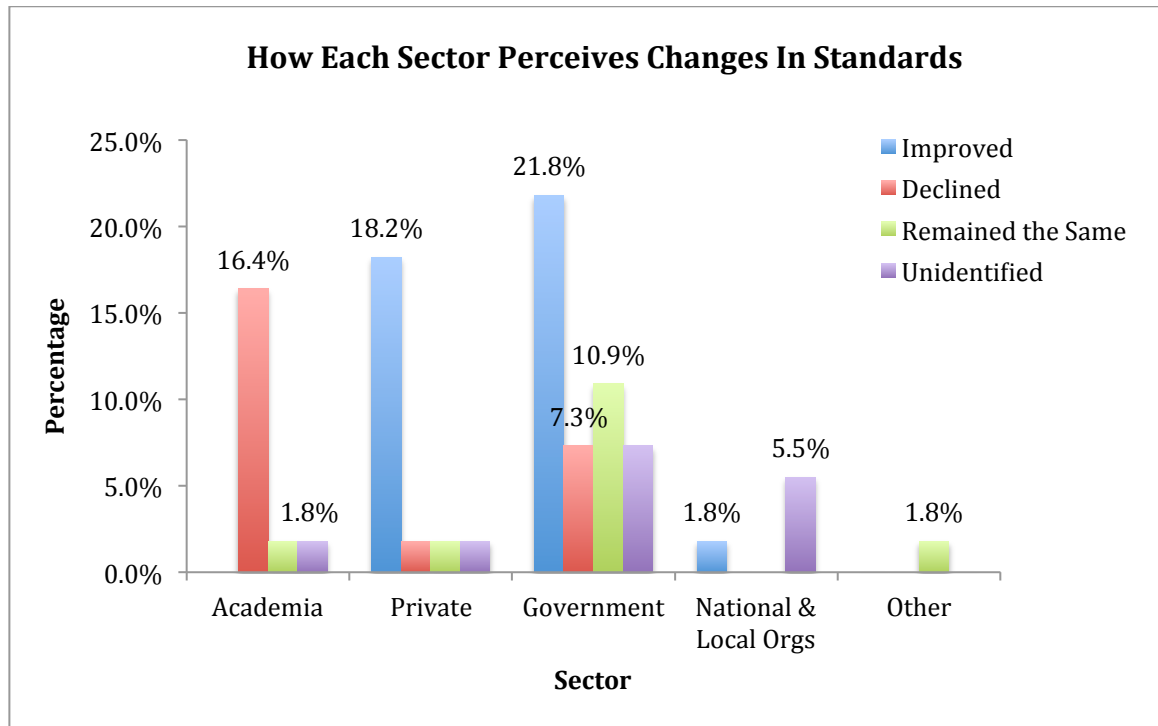


Figure 45 LDN Interviews: How each sector perceives standards have changed

However, the issue of standards is not straight-forward at all. We know that technology has led to a number of advances, from the use of GIS, the huge development of digital data collection and dissemination, to even simple presentation techniques or outreach channels such as Twitter and Facebook. But in terms of standards as a direct consequence of changes in structure and organisation, these standards include issues such as work conditions, improved technique, strong input, output and outcomes, new methodologies and so on. Many of the major advances with site recording, guidelines and manuals were actually developed during the 1970s and 1980s (pers. comm., Rauxloh, 2012: 6; pers. comm., Williams, 2012: 5, 6). This fact raises an important point in terms of archaeologist's awareness and accuracy in understanding the profession prior to the 1990s. A staggering 68% said that they thought there was more destruction of sites pre-1990 than now, revealed the interviews. It is interesting how this inaccuracy developed to now become a reality.

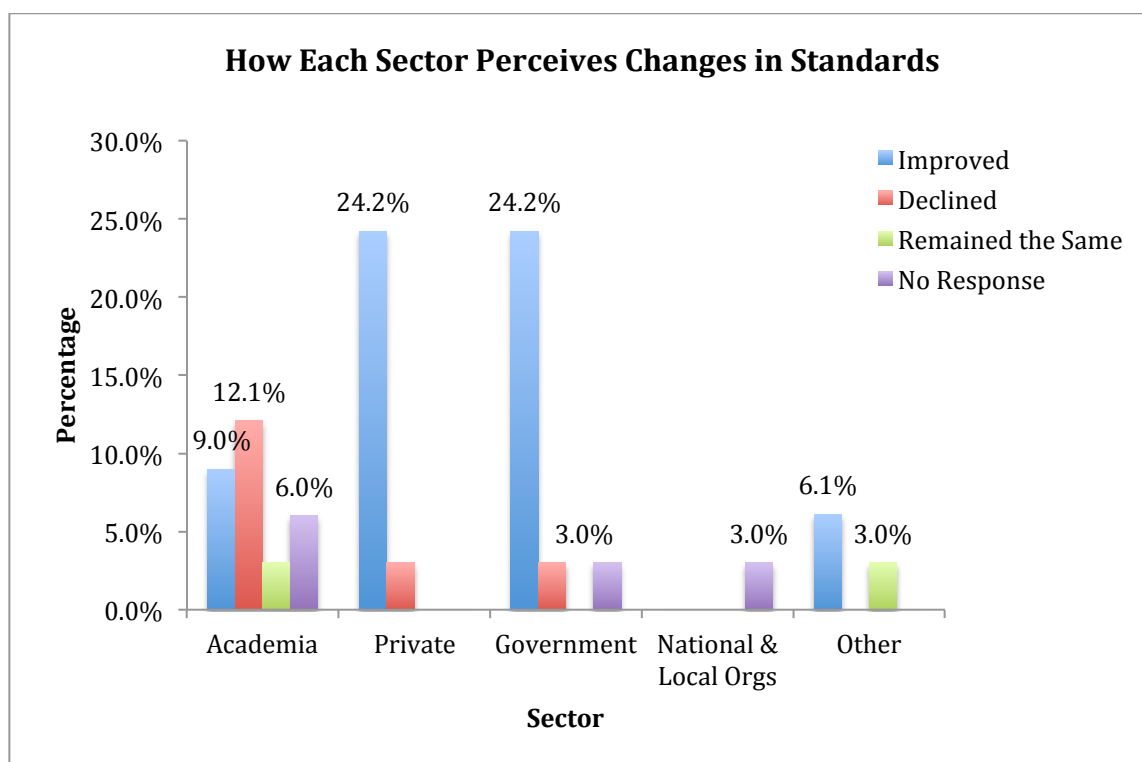


Figure 46 LDN Survey: How sectors perceive changes in standards

In their day, the DUA were at the forefront of increasing standards, methods and recording, and their DUA site manual is still an important manual to this day (e.g. pers. comm., Keys, 2013: 26). Inevitably, any profession *should* see improvements in standards over a period of 30 odd years. And archaeology has. Improvements include: more archaeologists employed; more money coming into archaeology; more being recorded; more being excavated through legislation; more being saved either on site or on record; and more being published with site reports being a legal requirement so every site has, at least, a report submitted and available to the public. There are also improved working conditions, code of ethics, job contracts, working standards, and better mechanisms in place to ensure archaeology is done and monitored. To those believers, the laments of the opposing who remember a ‘Golden Age’ are frustrating: ‘by no means was it a Golden Age of archaeology before PPG16... Archaeology was on more of a tenuous footing... Sites weren’t very well funded... Dug less well... It wasn’t particularly good then’ (pers. comm., Francis, 2013: 4). Now there is a recognised profession, unlike before (Biddle et al, 1973: 8). Archaeology is now more established and is professionalising at a rapid pace alongside new external demands from policy, and also increased competition expansions into different niches, offering value added through community projects and inclusion. ‘It’s wrong to call it a Golden Age... If I were in archaeology now, there are huge sites now! Seeing something excavated today with the professionalism today’ (pers. comm., Keily, 2013: 5).

Ultimately what we see here is not an issue with standards per se. It is an ideological clash, or

confrontation. It returns us to different issues raised in understanding professionalization (Section 1.4.2), changes through the 80s and 90s including battles won and lost (Section 4.2.5 and 4.2.6), and about how we as archaeologists feel about decisions in government and how those decisions affect our ability to decide the quality of our own profession (Section 5.3.1). The debate of standards is a projection of a tension far more deep. It is about fragmentation, professional exclusion, redundancies of staff with years of experience, and a form of institutional confrontation (discussed in Section 5.3.3 and in Chapter 8).

5.3.2.3 Underbidding Versus Professionalisation

Deeply embedded in the standard discussion is the argument that competitive tendering drives costs down, and consequently standards. Winning contracts and dropping prices was discussed in Section 5.2.5.3 briefly, however how underbidding really affects the profession and professionalisation is far more destructive than simply a badly done site. Going back briefly, after the introduction of PPG16, there were new teams created to deal with the new created market of archaeology and in the market came underbidding.

Underbidding devalues the profession as a whole. Not only does the quality of our work go down, but quite simply, our clients – who do not know much, if anything, about archaeology nor the standard in which it is done - begin to assume there is no skill, expertise, research or ‘good’ archaeology. Nixon explains, ‘it’s very common for us to be, as individuals...sitting around a table with members of other professions - part of the same development team working for the same client - and for us to be charging a hundredth of what the other client team members are charging...’ (pers. comm., Nixon: 2013: 8).

Because the developer invites tenders for a job which – in essence- has no use to him in the development built and making sure it is safe, archaeologists are only recently learning to change their language to suggest that archaeology is not a hindrance: ‘Our starting proposition in the early 90s, certainly, was ‘archaeology’s a big risk to you, it’s potentially a big detail, it’s a cost factor, you wish it wasn’t there - let’s try to manage it out of the way for you’. And that was very deliberately part of our language’, says Taryn Nixon from one of London’s most prominent contract units (pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 8).

Jay Carver¹⁰⁹ also comments:

Archaeologists in the market-place undercut themselves severely. Terribly. In the terms of the money they think they can demand from the market, they absolutely destroy themselves by undercutting themselves and selling their expertise so cheap. If only they wouldn’t do that! A client organisation would have no problem paying an archaeologist a professional equivalent rate. The fact that they continue to undercut themselves, it’s not about competition between themselves - they all undercut each

109 Director of 4AD Consultants Ltd – currently undertaking London’s Crossrail project (2006-present); Member of Technical Advisory Group for Historic Environment (CEEQUAL).

other - it's a mystery to me. It's a lack of exposure and really a lack of...belief in themselves. That they have a professional role. [It's a] self-fulfilling prophecy. Archaeologists feel that they are poorly paid and underrepresented and they continue to be until they get out of that mindset... (pers. comm., Carver, 2012: 26)

Archaeologists sold archaeology as a risk and unwanted hindrance that they could manage for a long time, something that is only recently starting to change. They did not talk about positive risk management nor added value for the developer. They did not value their work nor have the confidence to charge higher prices. 'But that's because we as a sector weren't all bringing ourselves up to speed at the same time, we were undercutting each other' (pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 8).

Lowering the bar for quality work is self-destructive. As a young profession, we need to understand and address these concerns and how it affects the profession internally, but also how it affects the image of archaeology externally.

5.3.3 The Role of the Individual and The Importance of Networking

As the last main theme of the London chapter, we now turn to the individual and the institution. For developing an integrated model of successful team performance, it is important to understand the individual within the institution, and to capture the dynamics at play. It is also important to understand this at a local level, and whether it bears any connection to the urban culture mentioned in Section 3.3.

5.3.3.1 The Individual

'Traits and characteristics brought in by individuals relate to the overall effectiveness of collective and individual performance' (Pettinger, 2013: 264). The concept of personality embraces perception, motivation, aspiration, learning and development (discussed in previous sections of this chapter): this is why it is critical for organisations to understand the characteristics, interactions and complexities of individuals and their relationships.

Gustav Milne¹¹⁰ points out a key observation regarding the archaeological community of London, in that 'the institution may be separate – but the staff are very fluid and very interchangeable...the staff you have to consider as separate from the institution...' (pers. comm., Milne, 2012: 36). While the individuals that make up groups are quite fluid, at the same time – as mentioned earlier – there are allegiances and loyalties in place which are noticeable (discussed in Section 5.3.3.4).

110 Senior Lecturer at IoA, UCL (1993 - present). Consultant for EH, Royal Commission for Historical Monuments (England), the Museum of London in Docklands and as project manager for Wellcome Trust's Centre for Human Bioarchaeology WORD project. Archaeologist for Guildhall Museum, Museum of London from 1973 to 1993, Director of two major community archaeology projects, the Thames Archaeological Survey and Thames Discovery Programme. Currently co-ordinating research at UCL on the multi-faculty "Evolutionary Determinants of Health" programme.

But throughout archaeology’s development, individuals – as separate from institutions - have played a significant role.

My observation is that only in the past 20 years or so has there been a decline in organisations being recognised through the individual in charge. The impression pre-1990 is that it was very ‘alpha-male run’ (pers. comm., anon., 2012) and quite territorial (e.g. pers. comm., Schofield, 2012: 26). This has changed now, as we see territoriality and ownership of patches of land open up to outside competitors and specialists. What is apparent, for example, is now we talk of GLAAS, or MOLA, or the Museum, or PCA and so on. This seems in contrast to previous years, where it would be Geoffrey Wainwright (of EH), Simon Thurley’s Museum, Brian Hobley and the DUA, Harvey Sheldon and the DGLA, Gary Brown’s PCA, Biddle’s Winchester, and even the IoA under Wheeler, or Grimes, and so on.

From the interviews, 78.2% suggested individuals are the key driver in the direction their organisation takes (Figure 47). They also suggested that individuals are responsible for cross-sector collaboration (Figure 49).

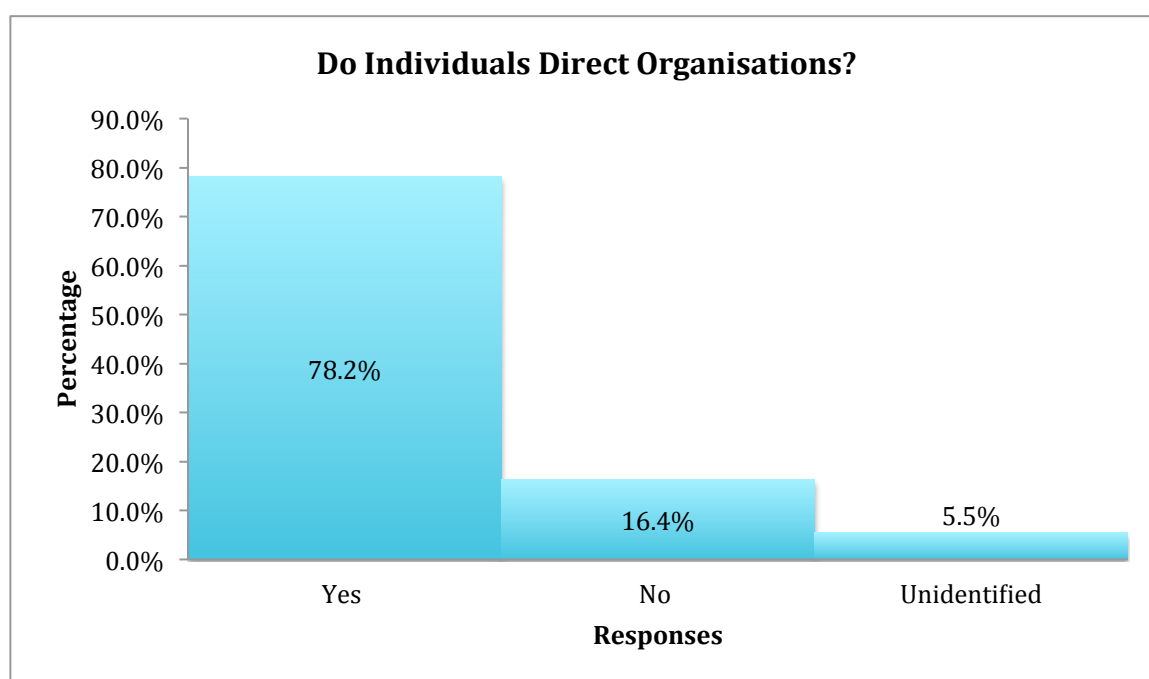


Figure 47 LDN Interviews: Do individuals direct organisations?

Looking at this closer, we notice that the sectors that feel individuals are responsible for the direction organisations take are the Government sector, followed by Academia (Figure 48). This is interesting in terms of understanding how attributes of power are understood (discussed below in Section 5.3.3.1.1).

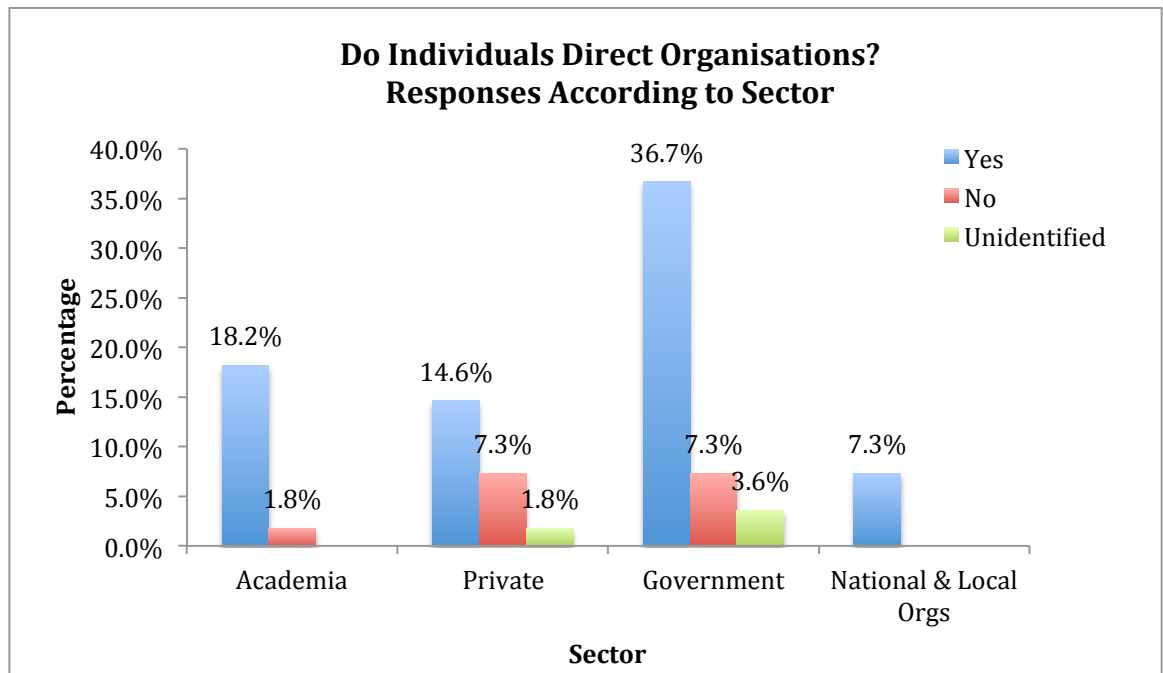


Figure 48 LDN Interviews: Perceptions on individuals directing organisations

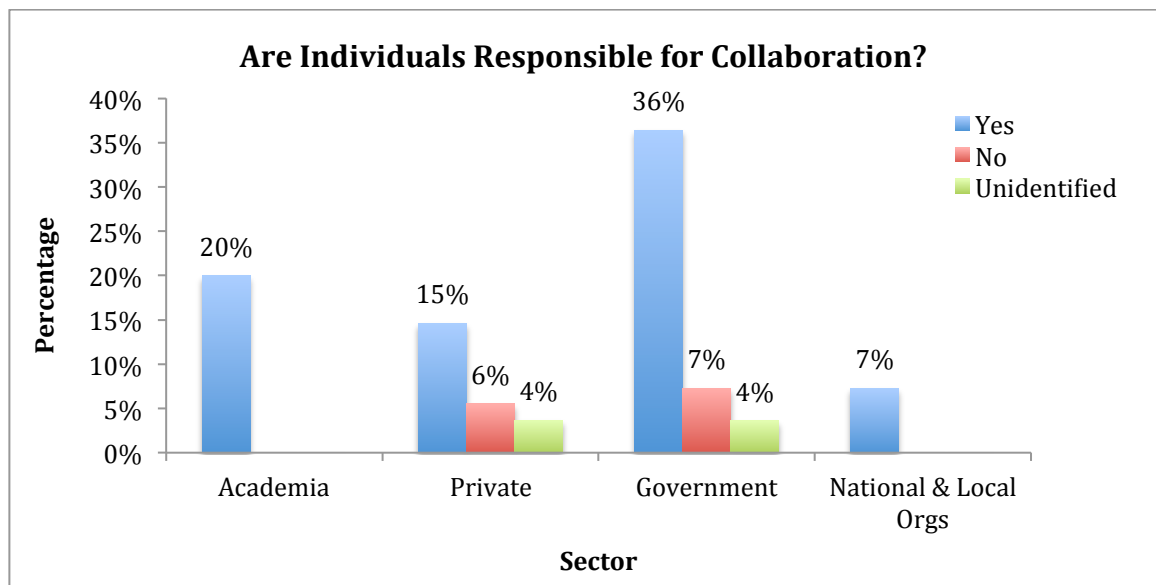


Figure 49 LDN Interviews: Individuals are responsible for cross-sector collaboration

The figures above demonstrate the perceptions that managerial individuals are responsible for both the direction of their organisation in which they led if they were in management level, and responsible for any collaborative effort that happened between sectors. It remains true today that a lot of collaboration is initiated by individual relationships (e.g. pers. comm., Bailie, 2012: 2;

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pers. comm., Bateman, 2012: 12; pers. comm., Cohen, 2013: 13; pers. comm., Cooper, 2012: 4). While there are collaborations between individuals, there is ‘not nearly as much as there ought to be...and the most productive collaborations are on an individual level [rather] than an institutional level. Individuals are helpful, caring, interested, and willing to go above and beyond. Institutions are not. People who run institutions are not’ (pers. comm., Moshenska, 2012: 12). Of course this is very dependent on the institution, however the point to pull from Moshenska is that individuals are seen as the collaborating actors, not institutions. We talk about the individual and their role in Section 5.3.3.

We can also see that prominent individuals led a lot of development in the early days of professionalisation. This is most apparent through Figure 50, which presents the results of reputable individuals for being influential. Most tend to be figures from the 70s and 80s. In the survey, the participants were asked who they thought were critical or highly influential in London archaeology as:

- A Leading figure in the development of the profession (a)
- An important part of change (b)
- A critical or key individual (c)
- Irreplaceable (d)
- A public figure (e)
- An individual who knows practically everything happening in London (f)
- Influential to UK archaeology as a whole (g)

Plenty of names were put forward, but individuals named more than once are listed in Figure 50. They are ordered by most named to least:¹¹¹

Individuals Named In Survey						
a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Brian Hobley	EH	Harvey Sheldon	Harvey Sheldon	Simon Thurley	Clive Orton	Geoffrey Wainwright
Clive Orton	Geoffrey Wainwright	Gustav Milne	GLAAS advisors	Harvey Sheldon	Harvey Sheldon	Clive Orton
Geoffrey Wainwright	Dominic Perring	John Schofield	Clive Orton	Time Team	Roy Stephenson	Mike Heyworth
Gustav Milne	Gill Andrews	GLAAS advisors	Geoff Egan			IfA
Laura		Clive				Mortimer

¹¹¹ See Appendix 4 for full results

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Schaaf		Orton				Wheeler
Taryn Nixon		Martin Biddle				
LAMAS		Peter Marsden				

Figure 50 LDN Survey: Individuals named according to influential role

Part of the process of organisational transformation advocates the need for symbolic leadership, in that the behaviour of particular individuals needs to communicate and symbolise the kind of values and behaviours being sought, and must simultaneously demonstrate being strongly committed to these new values, creating constant pressure for change. For example, Harvey Sheldon (not DGLA of which he was head of) is seen as instrumental to the Rose Theatre event, which led to huge structural changes in archaeology (see Section 5.2.1.1; see above regarding comment on individual names). The point is, these individuals are separate from their organisation, and took the character and culture of archaeology, impacting the climate, beyond the institutional structures. Their recognition comes predominantly from their roles as ‘shapers’, extroverted and standing firm despite unstable environments or political external influences. As CBA’s Heyworth points out, ‘To some extent, a lot of it, as is always the way, is about various personalities and around situations’ (pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 5).

5.3.3.1.1 Social Attributes of Power in Archaeology

French and Raven (1959) developed a classic scheme for categorising various bases of power, which can be used to understand the role of the individual. The categories are listed in Figure 51. In 1982, Hersey and Blanchard expanded this to include connection and information (Pettigrew, 1972; Raven, 1965, 2008; Marsden & Friedkin, 1994). These categories are put into two separate groups: positional and personal. The concepts also fit well into leadership theories, which include the role of educating engaged citizens, contributing to community service, and generating an organisational culture that reflects the values and beliefs of the organisation (Gaventa, 2004).

Understanding the Six Categories of Power	
POSITIONAL	PERSONAL
Position of Legitimacy or Authority	Recognised Expertise
Ability to Reward or Coerce	Referent Power (Charisma, loyalty, respect, admiration)
	Connection (Networking)
Control over Information and Resources	

Figure 51 Categories of attributes of power

In the survey, I asked participants to rank the level of importance of four of these attributes. I did not include ability to reward or coerce, and connection (networking) was covered in a separate question. Adding ‘most important’ and ‘very important’ options together, expertise rated highest with 64.4% (see Figure 52).

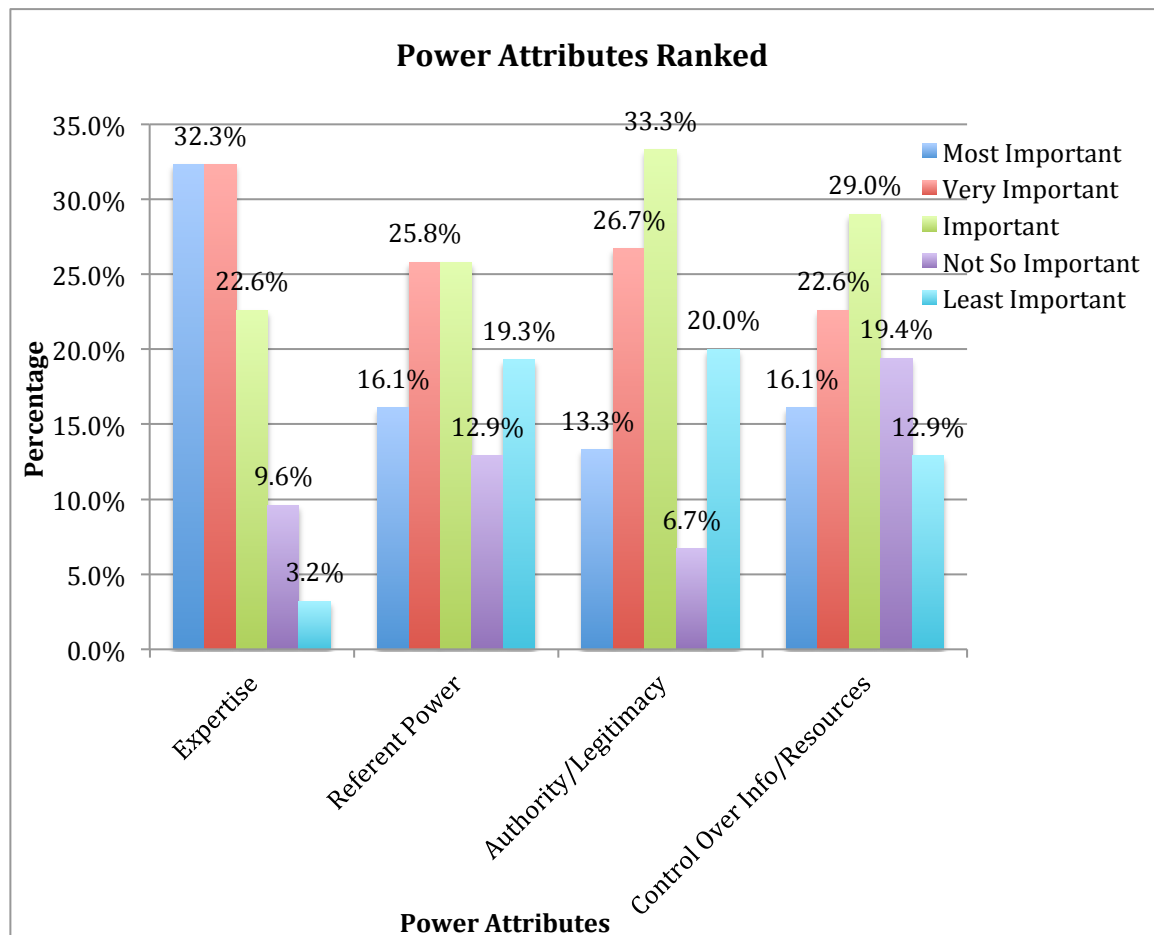


Figure 52 LDN Survey: Power attributes ranked

Referent power came in as second, although the results are not far different from those who thought that control over information and resources were important. I looked further by analysing which attribute was most important according to sector (Figure 53). Interestingly, academia and commercial ranked expertise as the most important attribute, followed by control over information. Those that worked in local or national government viewed authority as most important, followed by expertise. Societies, quite fittingly, felt that referent power (which would include leadership and charisma) was the most important attribute.

Ranking of Power Attributes of Most Important According to Sector					
Ranked	<i>Academia</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>National & Local Orgs</i>	<i>Other</i>
1	Expertise	Expertise	Authority	Referent	Expertise
2	Control	Control	Expertise	Expertise/Control	Referent
3	Referent	Authority	Referent	Expertise/Control	Authority
4	Authority	Referent	Control	Authority	Control

Figure 53 Level of Importance of Power Attributes According to Sector

Interviews support the results of expertise being most important, with claims that particular individuals are ‘worth their gold in weight’ (pers. comm., anon., 2012); that ‘everyone would fall down and roll a red carpet out’ for these particular individuals (pers. comm., Sidell: 17); or that particular individuals provide an amazing hub of expertise and knowledge (pers. comm., Flatman: 7); are very charismatic (pers. comm., anon., 2012); or are ‘some of the big beasts’ (pers. comm., Cotton: 35).¹¹² A lot of the individuals highlighted dominate their position by both their achievements, but also through their personality and character traits – whether positive or negative. For example, particular individuals could be judged as difficult characters, or having bad reputations, but are able to push and drive the organisation or movement which they are a part of (e.g. pers. comm., Hall, 2012: 33).

The individual in the organisation is a crucial agent for the way information is shared, collaborations undertaken, projects negotiated, and relationships established. As demonstrated, position of legitimacy or authority is important, however personal attributes based on expertise, respect, and the individual’s ability to utilise their knowledge and skills is a huge factor on how they are perceived by their peers, and the level of efficiency to which projects are performed.

It is the individual within the organisation that plays an important part for change and innovation (see Section 3.2): ‘...the primary stimulus for change remains those forces in the external environment, the primary motivator for how change is accomplished resides with the people within the organisation’ (Benjamin & Mabey, 1993: 181).

The next section takes the individual one step further, to understand how networking, communicating and intergroup and interpersonal relationships become part of the individual’s social identity and self-concept. It looks at informal channels, and ties in all the above discussion together. We see how the archaeological community operates through different networks.

5.3.3.2 Networking and Interaction

¹¹² There were plenty of opinions on individuals, however these comments were edited out of transcripts. The point here, however, is to highlight these views are present in people’s minds.

Group processes and work teams are about groups and the interaction between individuals, as well as stable patterns of relationships between people who share common goals and perceive themselves as being in some sort of group, either **formal groups** and **informal groups** (Figure 54). The point about social interaction, or networking, is that individuals should have some sort of influence on each other.

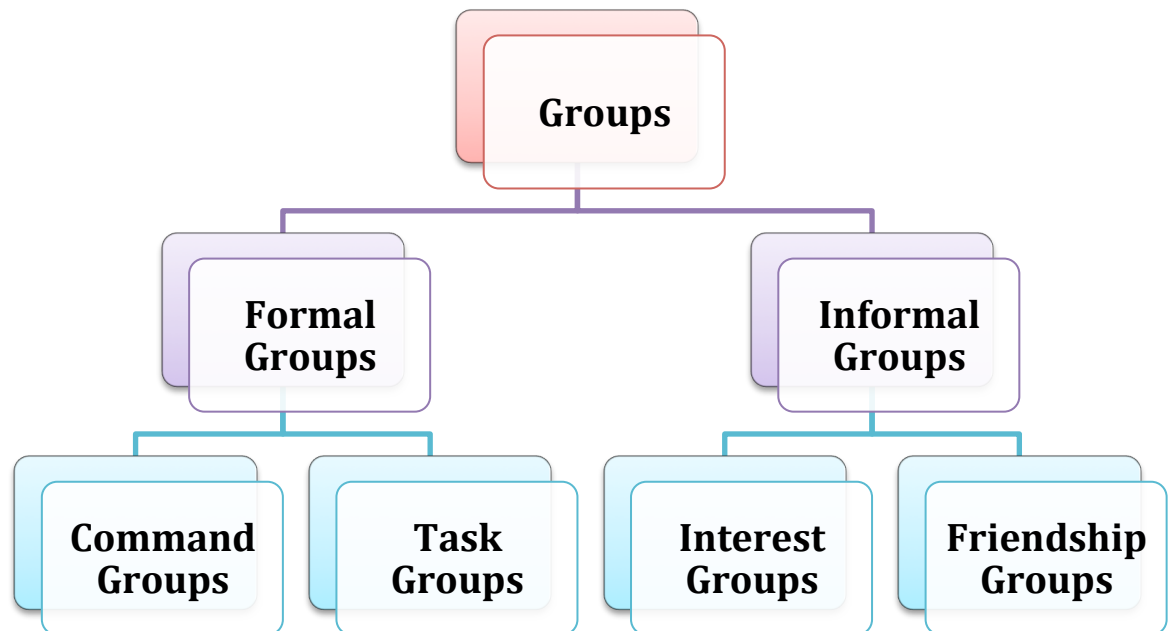


Figure 54 Identifying types of groups

While formal groups are designed to intentionally direct individuals towards a particular goal, informal groups are naturally developed without any direction from management. As mentioned earlier in Section 1.4.2 and Section 2.2, groups create stable structures which are built up from aspects such as roles, expectations (or norms), status, and also belongingness or cohesiveness (see Section 5.3.3.4; also discussed in Chapter 8). This is why networking is so important.

Clive Orton describes the archaeological community structure:

A lot is completely informal. A lot of what I do is completely informal. It has to do with knowing someone before, who you go to the pub with. It's got to be informal because there aren't really the formal structures to bring you together (pers. comm., 2012: 41).

From the interviews, 85.5% said that they found networking critical, while only 9% said that it was not (5.5% not identified). There is no doubt of the benefits of networking and interaction, some areas of which are addressed in this section.

5.3.3.2.1 Who Networks?

In the survey, participants were asked if they network or not. The results, illustrated in Figure 55, show that all of the participants make a conscious effort, at some level, of networking.

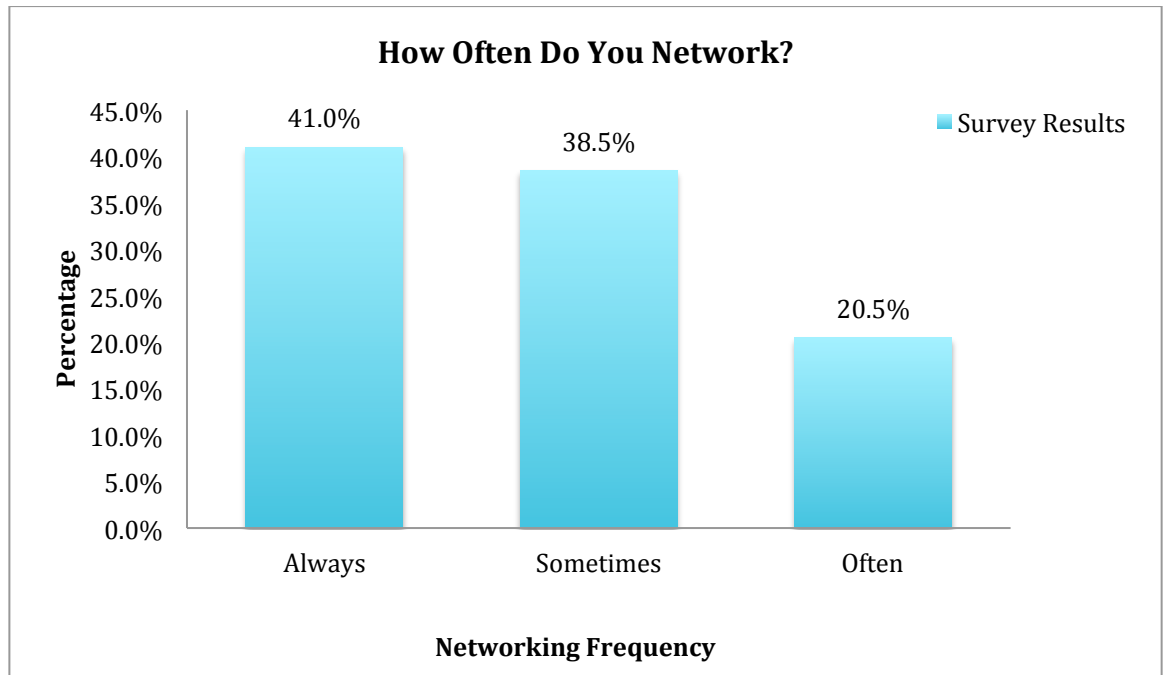


Figure 55 LDN Survey: Visual representation of survey results on networking

From the interviews, a huge majority felt that their informal networks were fundamental in their own careers, for doing projects, getting work done, and to find out what is going on (Figure 56).

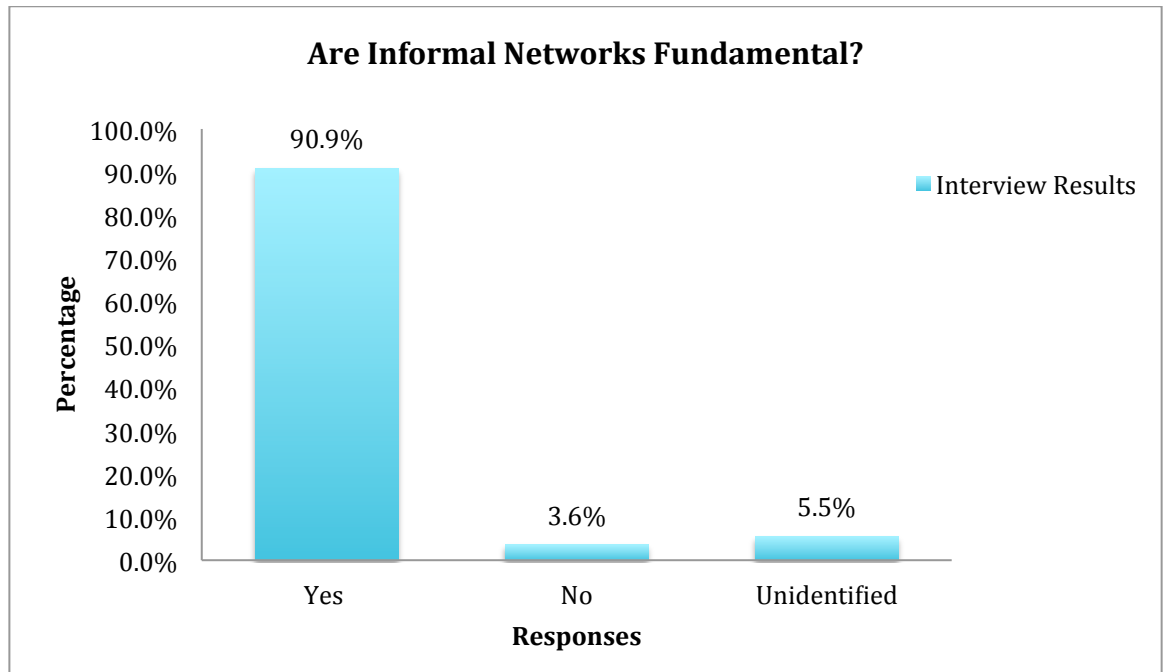


Figure 56 LDN Interviews: Responses to whether informal relationships are fundamental

As Sarah Dhanjal¹¹³ points out:

I think in London it very much depends on who you know. I feel that a lot of the projects I've got involved with, I've worked with other people...it was very much about 'I know the right people to get this done'

... It's so much of that – if we make progress it's all about being at the right place at the right time and knowing the right people to be able to say: we want to do an event for our members, or we want to do this, or we want to do that. Or knowing that to be able to get to such and such a place we need to talk to these people.

... I tend to find you see a lot of the same faces in different places. There are a lot of people who are members of that society, but are also member of a history society, or a geological society or something. So you'll see them a lot at different things (pers. comm., Dhanjal, 2012: 8, 17).

Looking at networking further, Figure 57 illustrates how often each sector networks.

113 Archaeologist specialising in education and community projects since 2002. Also involved with CBA London.

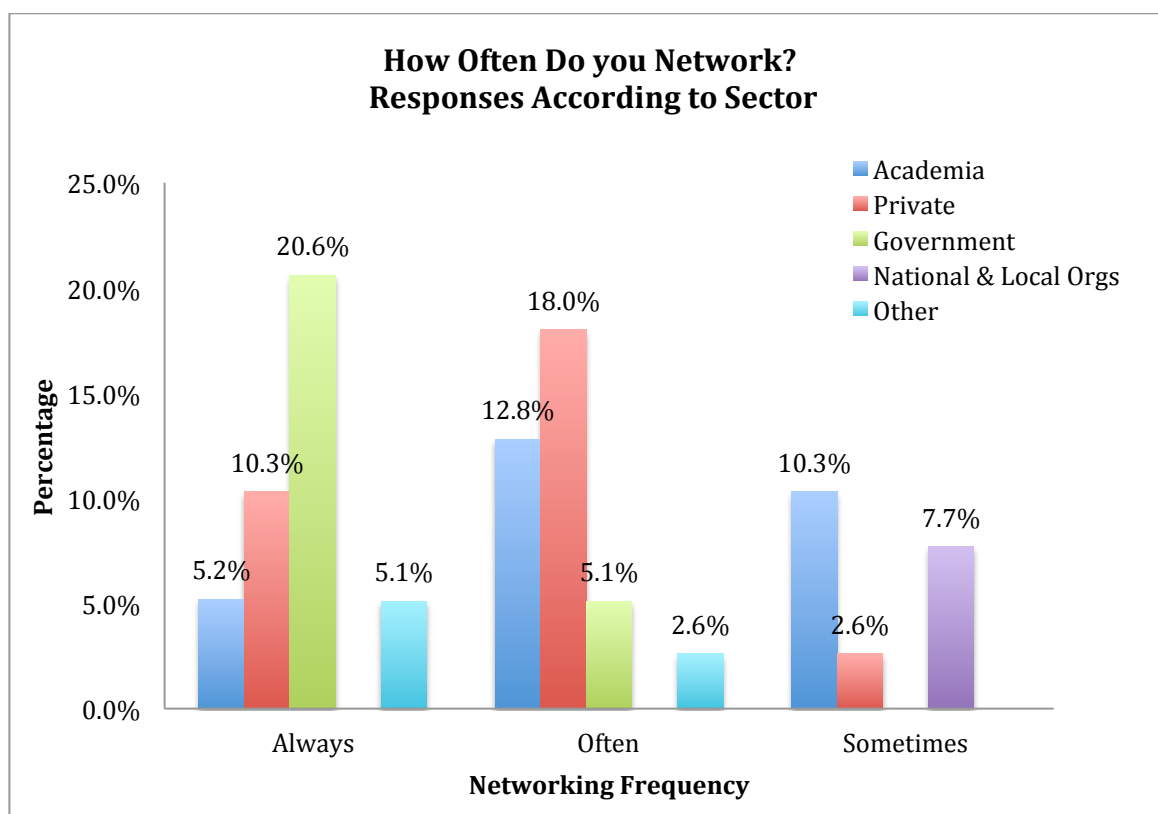


Figure 57 LDN Survey: How often each sector networks

The responses show that the state sector networks far more than other groups. This is backed by interviews with civil servants, where they feel their power lies predominantly through diplomacy and ‘soft’ powers, negotiation and influence (e.g. pers. comm., Aitchison, 2012: 21; pers. comm., Cakebread, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Sidell, 2012: 64, 66; pers. comm., Single, 2013: 4; pers. comm., Whytehead, 2012: 35). Ultimately if you are trying to advise, influence, persuade and exercise powers, the need for good or strong relationships, and need to be perceived as more of an enabler than obstructer, is a very powerful advantage.

Section 2.2 already discussed the benefits of networking. Now we look at horizons of observation in London.

5.3.3.2.2 Horizons of Observation

Another angle of looking at the level of cohesion among London archaeologists is in fact to look at the levels of what is known as **horizons of observation**, which looks at the degree to which archaeologists are aware of research conducted within the community. In the survey, participants were asked about their level of awareness regarding research and projects happening both internally and externally to where they worked (Figure 58).

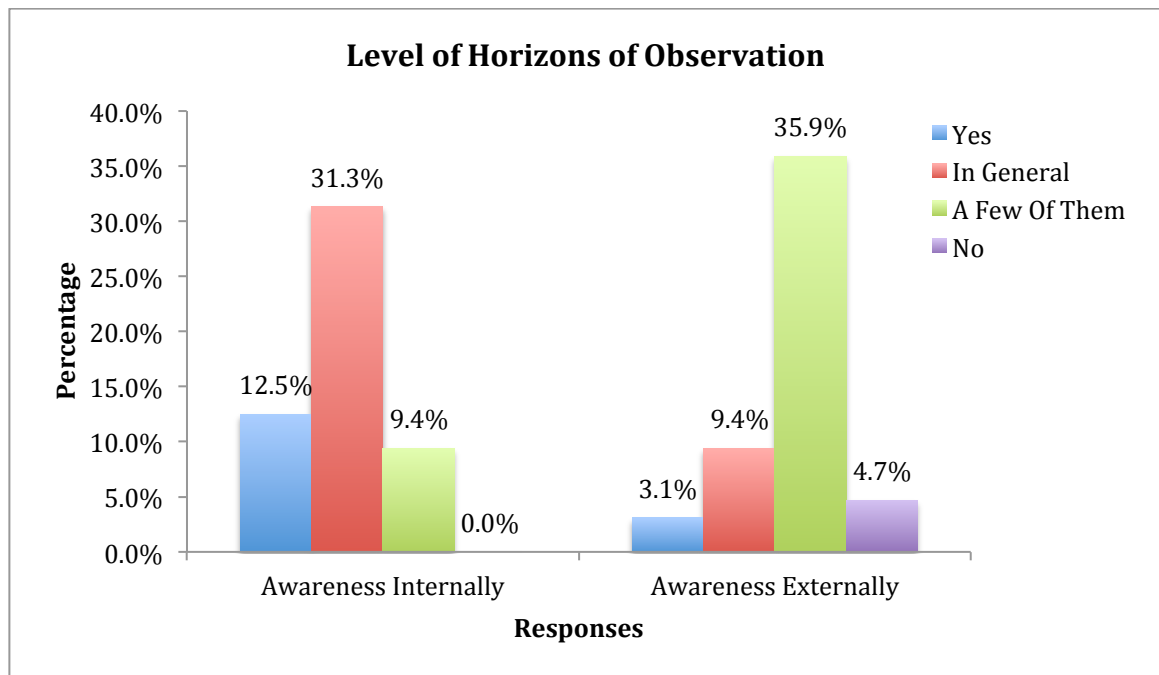


Figure 58 LDN Survey: Level of awareness

In the interviews, 38.2% seemed to be relatively aware of what was happening in terms of research and projects, while 54.5% did not seem to know much about current research, or did not feel they had the appropriate channels or contacts to find out. I was unable to categorise the remaining 7.3%.

The results show that many archaeologists are generally aware of what is happening within their own organisations, however these results decline dramatically for awareness of research beyond their own organisations. This reduces the individual's ability to act as a bridge or enabler of collaborative projects and thus reduces the overall potential for uniformity within the London community. Through my own observations, I encountered many frustrated faculty and students in the IoA, for example, who were unaware of projects that were very much in line with their own research, and were not contacted or referred to. This inability to ensure that those who may act as key partners or provide key knowledge/resources are contacted significantly impacts the potential of projects and does not promote tapping into the expertise of our colleagues. It is furthermore evident in organisations and institutes that cliques within groups of individuals develop into insular functioning bodies that make it difficult for others to participate or infiltrate. As was confessed to me in confidence by a senior lecturer:

Alas I think you will struggle to get people involved as they don't usually see how direct involvement - selfishly - benefits them: they'd rather publish in obscure journals and/or gossip among themselves than, god forbid, actually *do* something useful for

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general society/the profession. I always struggle to get people engaged in the IoA too because of what can only be called active disinterest that borders on the deliberately obstructive – relevant people were never interested and saw it as something other individuals should handle through informal networks, and if you happen to not get along with that particular individual, they would always block or dismiss anything you try to do. Plus if your interests do not rate highly in REF terms, you are discouraged from doing anything with it (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

This comment suggests that networking has to surpass personal relationships and formulise into open channels that can offer opportunities for those entering the profession or out of the loop. This is discussed further in Section 5.3.3.3.

The results were also analysed with participants' age as a variable. It is interesting to see in Figure 59 how all of participants aged 26 to 40 respond that they only know a few of the projects occurring outside their organisation (for comparison with internal awareness, see Figure 60). These results could largely be due to a changing methods of communicating information. It would be interesting in further research to draw comparisons on the media used (whether local societies, conferences, publications, the internet) and whether there are generational differences in how archaeologists stay in touch.

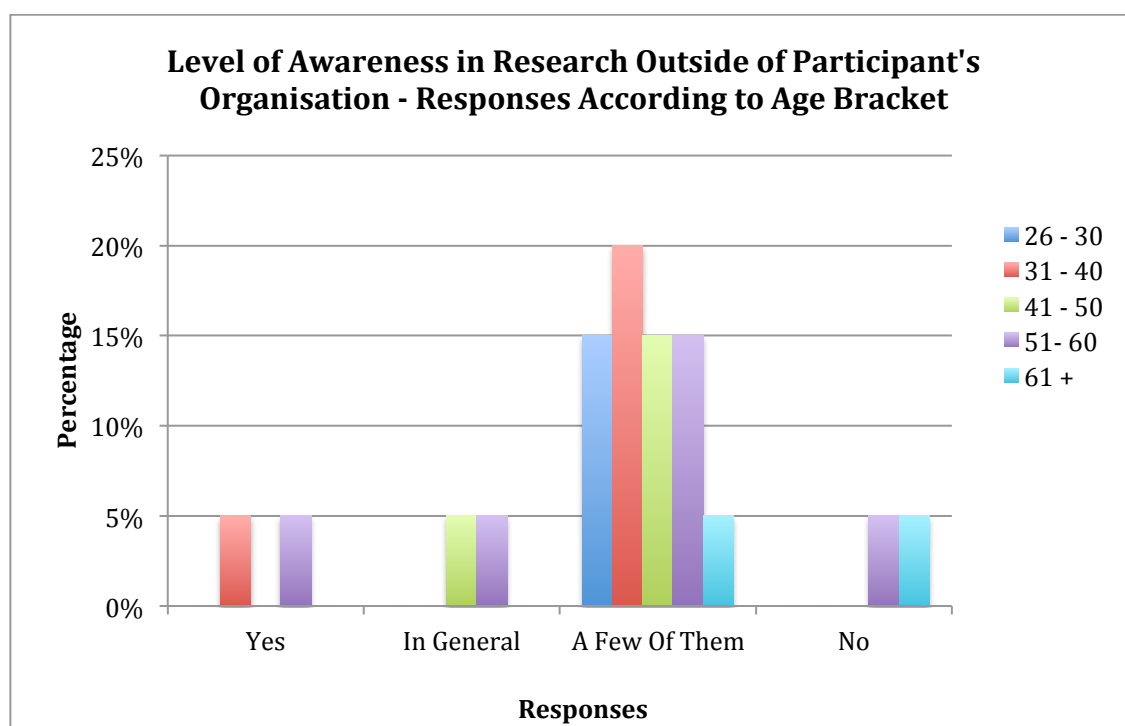


Figure 59 LDN Survey: Responses to external horizons of observation according to age bracket

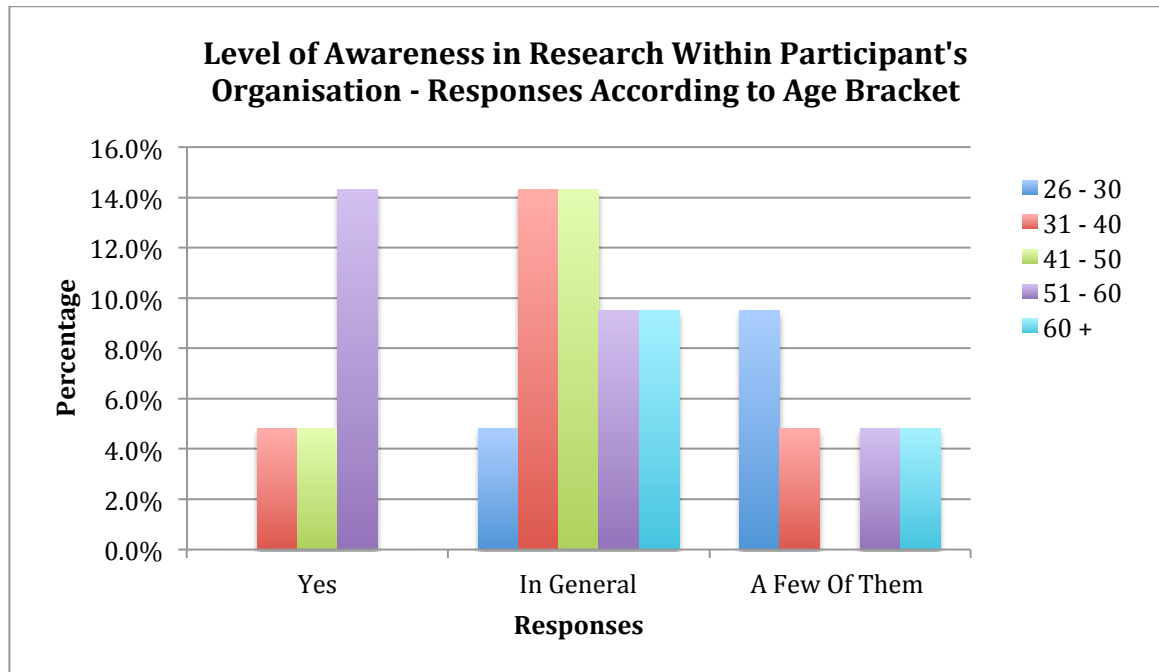


Figure 60 LDN Survey: Responses to internal horizons according to age bracket

5.3.3.3 Training and Career Progression

Networking and interacting play a large role in creating groups and some sort of social identity, and one aspect of group dynamics is individual performance. Levels of individual performance are based on a lot of factors, some which have already been mentioned earlier, such as external support, an environment which supports collaboration and communication, and one which drives towards improvement of standards and practices.

5.3.3.3.1 Training

Training is a huge subject which has a lot of areas that cannot be covered here. However, what is relevant in understanding training, is that there are individuals that have acquired a profound amount of skills and knowledge through their careers part of establishing a stronger community enables those skillsets and knowledge to ‘reside in the community rather than in one individual’ (pers. comm., Thomas, 2013: 16). Part of building a strong community pulls in all the issues that we have addressed so far in this chapter, and those that are still to be addressed. Training is one of these aspects.

Local expertise, training and career progression are three areas that can be explained in terms of past, present and future. The cultivation of local expertise through experience and acquired skills

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and knowledge is an essential part of training future archaeologists; in turn that training secures their career progression by empowering and enabling them to hone their experiences with time through their career. This cycle of harbouring skills and knowledge through a long process of mentoring is under threat by the current organisational structure. For example, lack of external support makes it difficult for organisations to invest the time and money to train their staff properly. Furthermore, the tenuous contracts which offers little security equally offers little incentive to invest in staff when there is no certainty they will be staying with that organisation. Secondly, the little collaboration and communication between sectors makes training opportunities become a project set up through personal ties rather than institutional processes. Thirdly, what training there is, is so specialised, that the community becomes further broken into specialised groups, offering hugely more detail and data to research while simultaneously moving further away from a holistic understanding of sites and research.

The disruption to the cycle of mentor-apprentice relationships has led to further concerns regarding local knowledge and expertise being lost as key individuals leave the profession without training the next generation (e.g. pers. comm., Bailie, 2012: 3; pers. comm., Biddle, 2012: 28; pers. comm., Cakebread, 2013: 8; pers. comm., Flatman, 2012: 25; pers. comm., Heyworth, 2012: 42; pers. comm., Hinton, 2012: 39). Even more pressing than that is the concern that appalling working conditions is resulting in a high turnover of archaeologists – many who are extremely talented and trained – leaving the profession in search for employment that provides them with better standards of living.

I spoke to specialist Lynne Keys about the opportunities for the new generation coming in:

...I don't think training is there. It's so much budget pressed now that no one can afford to give, say, that half day of training that we used to get in the DUA in specific half days a week, or whatever. People were taken on Wednesday afternoon to train up in something. So you'd train in the afternoon...you learned things. You were doing a valuable service and funded for it on a cheaper budget than the renowned specialist. You lose the skills, you lose the knowledge, because if you're doing that training you've got a skilled person coming in and they know things. Now, you've got people scrubbing away motifs because they don't know there might be something under the mud, or material that washes off when you put it in water. We learnt you have to gently make sure how to do those things.

John Schofield said what I should be doing is training up people to do iron slag. I said, John, the slag I'm doing has a budget with a time scale, I can't sit there and explain the ins and outs of this piece of slag to someone. I need to get through it. Is he going to provide the money for you to train people? Because that's what it requires. It requires extra money on top of the budget, to really let people learn, and they're not doing that anymore. They're not teaching. It's all "get this project done, get it processed"...

You're not getting - in finds - I know the specialists are all old and dying out or whatever, and the numbers coming through are not replacing them, and they've not got the kind of knowledge or skills.

There's also "oh you can do any old thing", you go to the IfA for half a day of training

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and suddenly you can write an assessment report. Well, no! (pers. comm., Keys, 2013: 34-35)

Specialist knowledge and local expertise are very helpful and essential to the development management process, and as Keys summarises quite well, with a lack of training and the skills of experts not getting passed down, immense knowledge will be lost.

5.3.3.3.2 Support and Rocking the Boat

The topic of career progression in archaeology is a hot one, and deserves attention not only on those grounds, but on the very fact that – again – a lot of the changes seen in archaeology are directly responsible for many of the issues surrounding career progression. These include, for example, internal support, motivation, training opportunities, the formation of network cliques and insular environments.

Internal support and encouragement is quite an important factor in the motivation, inspiration and drive of individuals. Through my observations, casual chats at events and gatherings revealed that employees in academia and the private sector feel ‘faceless’ and discouraged by their invisibility to management. Innovative ideas are not supported, or individuals are forwarded to other more senior staff which also leads to a show of power play, which hinders or crushes ideas and projects. One interviewee anonymously explained:

you are dropped and picked up at will. You’ve got no job security; you’ve got no chance of getting any training. They’re [contractors] perfectly happy to take on people with very little experience of doing archaeology because it’s cheap; work you till their work ends and then drop you. So the idea of them investing in any of their staff doing Continuing Professional Development, or an NVQ in archaeological practice is a joke (pers. comm., anon., 2012).

There are many barriers in all sectors during all periods of one’s career. While contract, for example, is perceived as easy to get in (become a digger and work one’s way up), there is the preferred requirement for 6 months digging experience, a degree of some sort, insecure contracts, and so on. Academia is somewhat more difficult with the securing of post-doctoral positions, the nepotism involved in creating posts *for* particular individuals, and the very cliquy environment which is difficult to infiltrate. Government positions, too, are not as accessible as a younger applicant. The penetration into various sectors, however, is beyond the scope of this research however would be interesting to investigate in the future.

Regarding encouragement and support, the survey revealed that participants feel supported and encouraged by their work environment on occasion (Figure 61). There was nothing distinctive in exploring these responses according to sector.

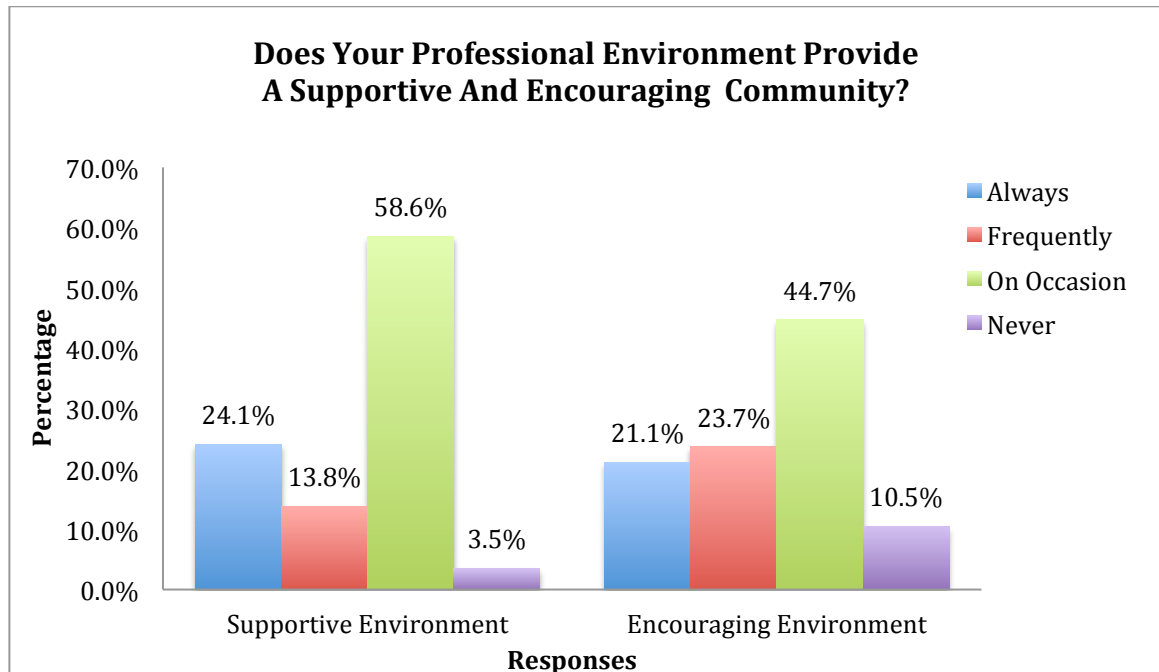


Figure 61 LDN Survey: Support and encouragement by professional environment

Although some organisations allocate training budgets for more senior employees, most of the time attending courses must be self-funded. This includes membership of the IfA:

As a rule, we get very little support for professional development, conferences, etc. We do get 50% support for IfA membership but that is more of a benefit to the company, I suspect, than for staff benefit. I have had excellent support and encouragement by some individuals at work, but I get the feeling that any negotiations that have taken place to support my research have been quite difficult and hard won! (Survey Participant: Commercial sector).

Regarding contract archaeology, these may be the sort of conditions employees are to expect. Freelance archaeologists and specialists have even more hard times, trying to remain competitive but simultaneously factor in the costs of training opportunities. Many flagged up the Group for Education in Museums which is set up for practitioners to share ideas, freelancer details, and other such information.

As mentioned in Section 2.2 and 3.3, support and the ability for an individual to work within an environment which motivates and encourages their individual progress, is a key ingredient for developing a creative environment which promotes innovation and the ability to risk-take.

One of the characteristics of innovation is the ability for skilled and trained individuals to be nurtured in a supportive environment where they have the ability to push forward, risk-take, and create something new. The question of a spark lost brought up earlier in Section 5.3.2.1 ties in with a perception that individuals no longer ‘rock the boat’. ‘People are frightened to make

stands...because it will lose them work’, says Jon Cotton (pers. comm., 2012: 27).

Risk-taking did come up in some interviews (e.g. pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 18; pers. comm., Francis, 2013: 25; pers. comm., Nixon, 2013: 27; pers. comm., Olivier, 2013: 15; pers. comm., Perring, 2013: 9; pers. comm., Rauxloh, 2013: 7). My perception is that many participants feel there is no platform or opportunity to stand up or speak up, as opposed to previous generations. We see, particularly through waning external support and concerns with relationships with developers, how archaeologists are finding it hard to make too much of a fuss. And in terms of innovation, we see how time and money restraint offers little opportunity for risk-taking into new ideas. Both of these different concepts are related to risk-taking.

My own personal experience in dealing with London archaeologists was through the production of the PIA journal forum, which was set up to discuss new challenges faced by archaeologists – senior/junior relationships, obstacles, and other relevant concerns about the environment (see PIA, 2014). Five of the respondents dropped out because ‘they did not want to shoot their career in the foot’. There is an astonishing level of discomfort and fear not conducive for any advancement in archaeology.

Even complaints through the IfA are dropped once an individual has to make it formal. Interestingly, it is the organisations that are not reliant on external funding or clients that tend to be more critical. RESCUE, for example, ‘play a political game but they’re not answerable to anybody, they only answer to themselves. If they have a view, they speak without fear and fervour. Sometimes you feel that some of these other bodies try to cool their punches a little bit because they’re worried about rocking the boat or disturbing their relationship with government ministers...’ (pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 50; see also pers. comm., Howe, 2013: 17, 19, 22, 25).

One of the other very interesting points to raise that emerged later in the research is the amount of editing participants for this research did on their interview transcripts (Appendix 5); who chose to withdraw; and the sectors in which they came from. We see a different result in NYC (Section 7.3.3.3.2).

In London, I observed that most interview participants did not do significant edits to their work, nor did they withdraw. More particularly, those involved with government were open and honest, and actually did not edit at all. Edits came predominantly from younger archaeologists; and requests to remove transcripts from the public view from only three individuals who felt that the transcript did not justify their values or views.

5.3.3.3.3 Career Progression

Career progression, as any other profession, is dependent on an individual's qualifications, accomplishments and experience, but also on who they know and being in the right place at the right time. This section is not about *how* best to develop a career, but more the perceptions involved. All the themes and sub-themes mentioned above play a part in an archaeologist's career development. An individual pursuing archaeology should network, volunteer, and make himself or herself an appealing, active individual (pers. comm., Flatman, 2013: 6). From the interviews, what we see is that those who volunteered both as a youth more often, and who volunteered more often without a degree, are above 51. The results presented in Figure 62 should not be considered valid as each generation is not represented equally in the interviews, however, it offers an interesting visualisation about the changes in career progression which should be explored further.

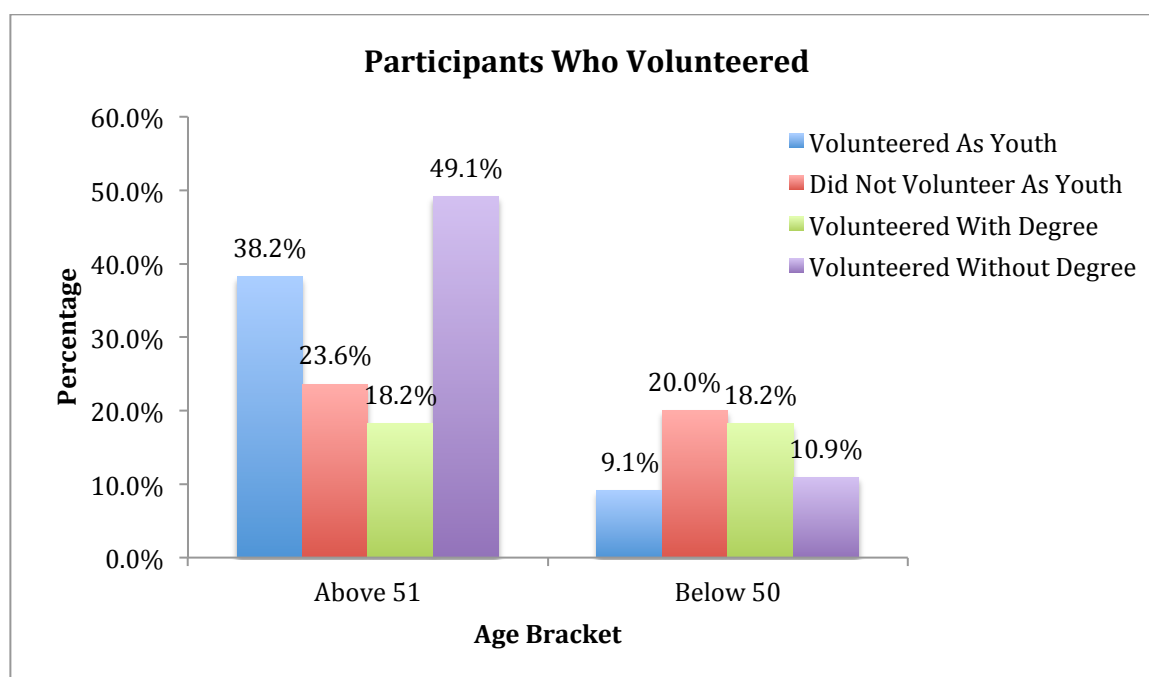


Figure 62 LDN Interviews: Volunteering In archaeology

What is more worrying, is that all interviewees suggested knowing the right people in the London community as a key factor of career progression, precisely because the community does work on a favour-basis and – in this sense – forms collaborations whereby without these connections projects (or individuals) would not be as successful.

What I found striking in the interviews was that many mentioned their career trajectory is based on either luck or contacts (Figure 63). Many used the word 'fortuity' and 'being at the right place at the right time' or being in a network where an individual contacted them through informal channels to offer opportunities.

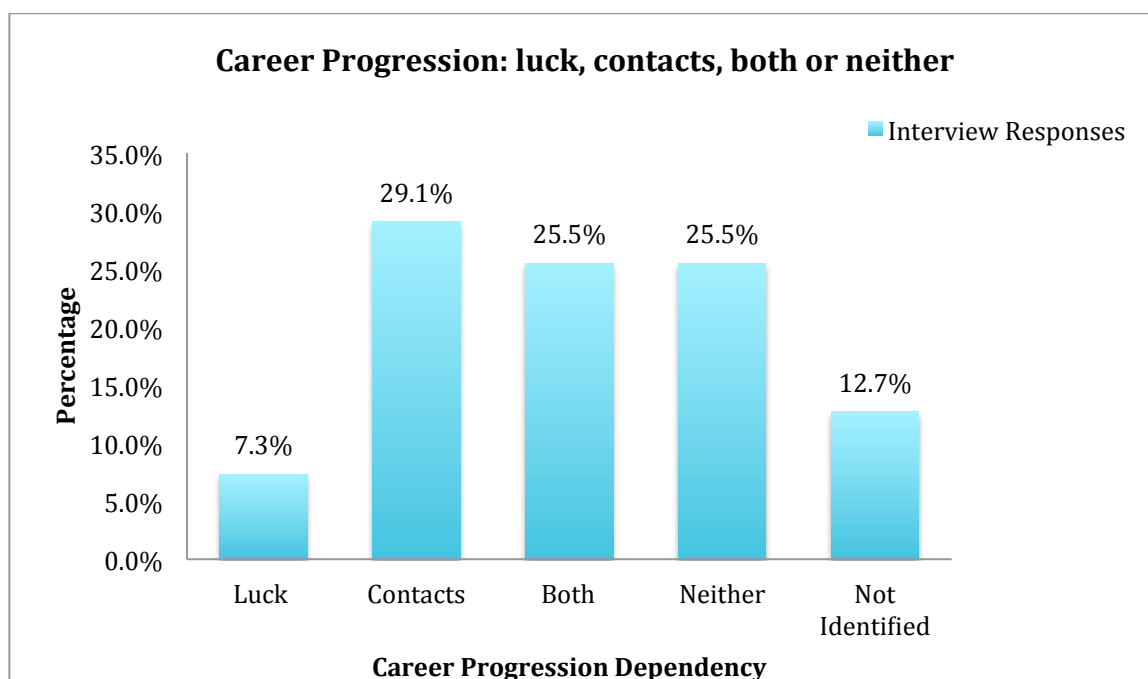


Figure 63 Career progression based on luck, contacts, both or neither

While there is a good 38.2% who either did not respond or who were “neither”, the remaining majority felt that networking or luck played a big role.

This, again, is an important point to note in terms of whether or not adequate communication channels are in place. It is also my observation that many archaeologists do not apply for jobs they feel that they are qualified for, because they know through their own personal networks that the job has already been taken by someone within that relevant circle. I coded interviews for elements of a nepotistic approach to career progression, which resulted in 56.4% (30.9% not supporting and 12.7% not-identified).

While this could raise issues in terms of fairness, for this research it suggests precisely the aspects of networks brought up so far. It is about links, relational ties, trust, reputable references, and creating one’s own social identity through the group in which they work.

5.3.3.4 Networks, Power and Social Capital

One obvious determinant to the ability to stimulate a creative and successful environment for any group structure is cohesiveness – that is, the strength of the individual’s desire to be a part of a particular group. Cohesive groups accept goals and help towards achieving it. However, it tends to be difficult to achieve uniformity or cohesiveness when a group is so large, and when there are clear power dynamics at play, niches, and a lack of common overall objectives, processes, standards and values. Role expectation, training, attitudes and behaviours of individuals have created sub-cultures through exclusion; there are also issues of interdependencies, or resource dependency, which create power relationships and form groups which may exclude others.

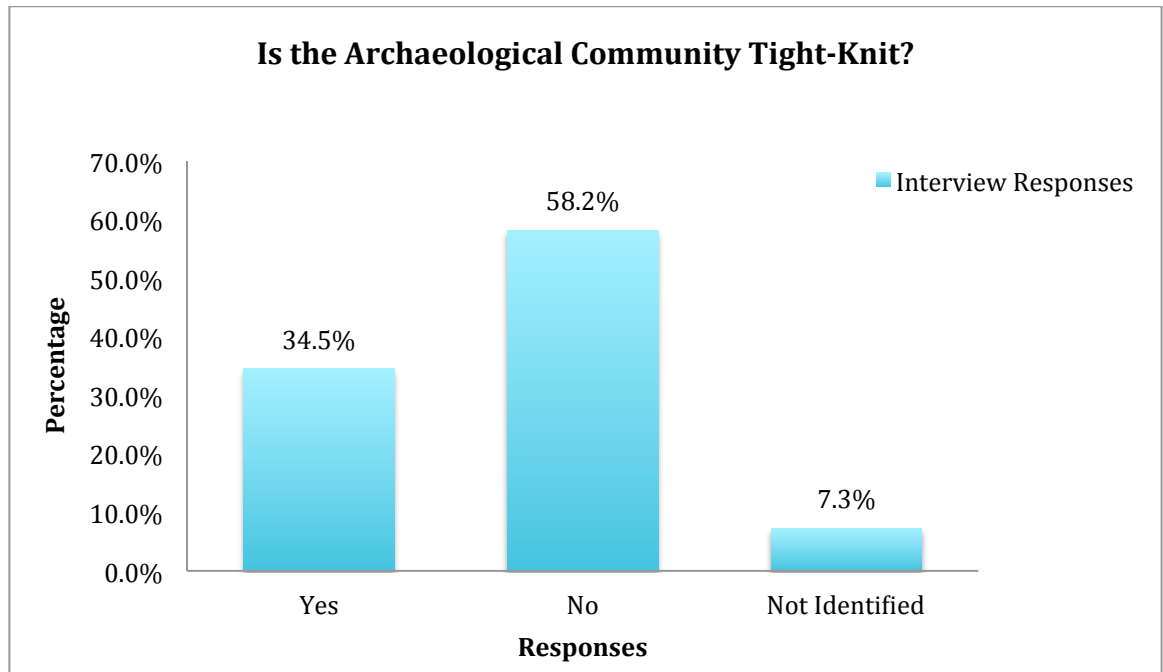


Figure 64 LDN Interviews: Is the community tight-knit?

In Figure 64, responses show that 58.2% of the interviewees felt that the community was not tight-knit in that it was more fragmented and isolated into little clusters rather than cohesive. While we see that the individual must put in the time and effort to network and create their own professional group, it is necessary for social facilitation, communication and collaboration to be encouraged, promoted, and invested in by institutions. Again, the relationship between self-identification, building relationships and producing initiatives (discussed in the cycle of proactive environments – see Figure 4), are conducive for forming environments that encourage creativity, innovation, and progress (see Sections 2.2.2 for discussion on the need of support and Section 3.2.1 on supportive environment).

Another angle that we have not touched on is whether, in London particularly, there are so many groups and channels promoting communication, that often the effort becomes diluted, and creates more complications in relation to a cohesive archaeological environment.

Half of those interviewed believe that there are so many organisations that it becomes quite overwhelming and difficult to be aware of what is taking place.

If you're interested or had the stamina for it, you could probably go to a talk on London Archaeology every night of every week for the year. Without question. There is so much happening there... If you wanted to, you could never go home in the evening (pers. comm., Constable, 2012: 48)!

Different groups organise different events, and archaeologists feel that it is simply impractical to attend many of them during the week. Some live in suburbs, and making their way to the other

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side of London after work for a meeting where they see the same faces and would be of little benefit is just not worth the effort. ‘I think if all these things were coordinated and became more important I would certainly go. My problem is that I’m just so busy. I would force myself to go if I thought it was actually really really important’ (pers. comm., Flude, 2012: 19). Archaeologists are starting to feel over-stretched, over-worked, and realise there is now so much going on, that it has become overwhelming.

If you are not socially active beyond your day-time job, it may be difficult to completely be in the loop, in the know, of different activities, projects, concerns and changes. Similarly, archaeology today is not a movement, it is a profession, a job. It is no longer a fight for a cause, or about being anti-establishment. Although survey results shows that participants do find meeting from national bodies, local societies, conferences, evening lectures and social events either generally useful or always very useful, my observation is that those who attend meetings are a small group of similar faces.

The new generation see their work as separate from their personal lives. ‘I do archaeology all day long so...I’ve got other things to do’ (pers. comm., Francis, 2013: 14), was actually a very common sentiment. Another aspect is that the cost of being social puts strain on people’s personal budget. Other examples that demonstrate archaeologists are beginning to appreciate that whether it is their hobby or not, it is a job, and it has a start and end time:

‘...archaeology isn’t the be all and end all for me. I’ve got a wife and three children. I’ll give talks on a Saturday and come and do things. But I see that as being a part of my job. I don’t actually live and breathe archaeology. Standing around in the pub and arguing about post-hole alignments and relationship between stratigraphy? no no no no’ (pers. comm., Lewis, 2012)!

Another archaeologist says:

I love archaeology dearly, on the other hand I go home and I don’t read archaeology books, watch archaeology TV, almost all my friends are non-archaeologists. I made a very major effort to have a completely separate world because this world will chew you up and spit you out. If all you do is archaeology, you will kill yourself! You have to not care. You have to be able to go, I’m off now. Occasionally I’ve bumped into someone who said: can we talk about this. And I said: no we can’t. I’m off duty. I’ll talk to you about the latest Avengers movies and the play I saw or book I read, but I won’t talk to you about archaeology now! On the other hand, I married a non-archaeologist...A lot of archaeologists end up with archaeologists...(pers. comm., Flatman, 2013: 34).

Archaeology is becoming less about working endlessly weeknights and weekends, mortgaging houses to fund excavations, and working for free for the bettering of archaeology than it used to be: things have transformed (e.g. pers. comm., Bailie, 2012: 2; pers. comm., Dawson, 2013: 3; pers. comm., Howe, 2012: 5; pers. comm., Sloane, 2013: 4).

We see from all the themes brought up, that the organisational landscape is a key aspect of how archaeology functions, but also that perceptions from individuals and groups play a large factor

into how collaboration, communication, a wider approach to archaeology and values are formed. All these themes are discussed together with NYC in the closing chapters, to see to what extent building infrastructure within the community can reconcile some of the concerns and challenges seen today.

5.4 Final Thoughts and Reflections

Both the previous chapter and this chapter have presented the results for the London case study in a narrative that has revisited the historical development of London archaeology through situating it within a larger context of urban politics, social change and planning. This chapter has then pulled together a picture of how archaeology in London functions through in-depth interviews with local archaeologists. We can see through the extensive data presented in Section 5.3 that there are a range of themes and concerns; many of these directly correlate to larger organisational and networking concepts within urban contexts that were discussed earlier in Chapters 2 and 3.

The relationship between institutions and the perception archaeologists have of their efficiency and how they play a role on the overall landscape is well documented (see Chapter 2). Institutions play a powerful role in reducing uncertainty, for example, by allowing expectations to be more dependable and reliable. The organisations, governmental bodies, institutions and policies outlined above provide the framework within which archaeology operates. What functions surround that, such as cultural and established norms, practices, and individual relationships also provide an equally important context in which archaeology must be considered. There are many external factors that may reduce the control provided by our structure and institutions, however we must also turn attention to the community and attitudes of individuals to allow this profession in its infancy to have stronger foundations.

This chapter has aimed to develop a broader framework of inquiry – through themes - under which the management of urban archaeology can benefit. To assess the importance and applicability of the themes introduced above, we first must understand its place within the unique historical development of archaeology in London and then see through comparative analysis with New York City if it is feasible to apply alongside urban literature that indicates global cities experience similar development trajectories (as explained in Chapter 3). The research also allows us to understand transformation through an endogenous approach to urban archaeology while recognising exogenous change influenced by the context of the global city.

The themes highlighted can be used as steps to summarise the logic by which development of institutions and practices are integrated into the profession. I introduced briefly the international treaties that are used to homogenise approaches and guidelines, and reproduce standard recommendations within a dominant ideology. Through these we see a formulaic nature of institutions and policies, however the question is whether there is a formulaic nature of themes

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that emerge from the urban context, and the role that individuals play in formula.

Archaeology has adapted theoretical ideas which have removed it far from its origins in terms of research and practice. The strength and innovation that archaeology requires can be found through embracing such analogical theory so that it may confront and negotiate tensions in positive ways.

These two London chapters have explained the transformative process and placed it in the context of global city theory. In Chapter 8, we look to what extent these themes may be utilised beyond being unique attributes of London, and instead highlight commonalities with other global cities.

I have presented a variety of responses from both interviews and surveys, analysed in a bite-size manner to tease out important issues. In doing so, there has been a wealth of issues that have not been touched upon and must be addressed in further research. These include roles and relationships of specialists, curators, consultants and other professions; the impact of specialisation and the loss of a general and informed outlook; the issue of enforcement and disciplinary actions, setting rules and creating best practice instead of minimum standards; and exploring embedded resources in social networks.

While these areas are relevant to this work, what this chapter has accomplished is to take the research through necessary themes and present results, so that they may be discussed further in terms of global cities and the profession.

I have investigated three areas (the holistic approach to archaeology, standards and values, and the role of the individual and networking) in an accessible manner in relation to the complex data collected so that the reader can understand aspects of what makes up the archaeological community. Without understanding the local organisational landscape and the attitudes and perceptions in place, we cannot make the necessary changes to initiate further development and progress.

6 Chapter Six: A Brief Background to NYC

6.1 Introduction

These next two chapters explore New York City in the same way as Chapters 4 and 5 do for London. Conforming to common trends of global cities, New York City - like London - experiences similar challenges in development pressures, competitive economies and conflict in governance. Here, I provide a brief background of the New York State's history of city planning tied in with the historical preservation movement with a focus on NYC.

6.2 A Chronological Background of Planning and the Growth of Archaeology

6.2.1 *Introducing New York City*

NYC is a large and complex urban centre which covers an area of around 1,214 km² and has a population of just under 8.5 million.¹¹⁴ It is one of the most populated urban agglomerations in the world. Made up by five boroughs, it is governed by a metropolitan municipality set up as a mayor-council government system¹¹⁵ from the time the boroughs were amalgamated into one single city under the *1898 Charter of the City of Greater New York*. Mirroring the federal government structure, the state itself is divided into executive, legislative and judicial branches (Figure 65).

114 See US Census at <http://www.census.gov/#>

115 Local governments in the United States are either set up as a mayor-council government system or a council-manager government system. In most large cities, the former is adopted.

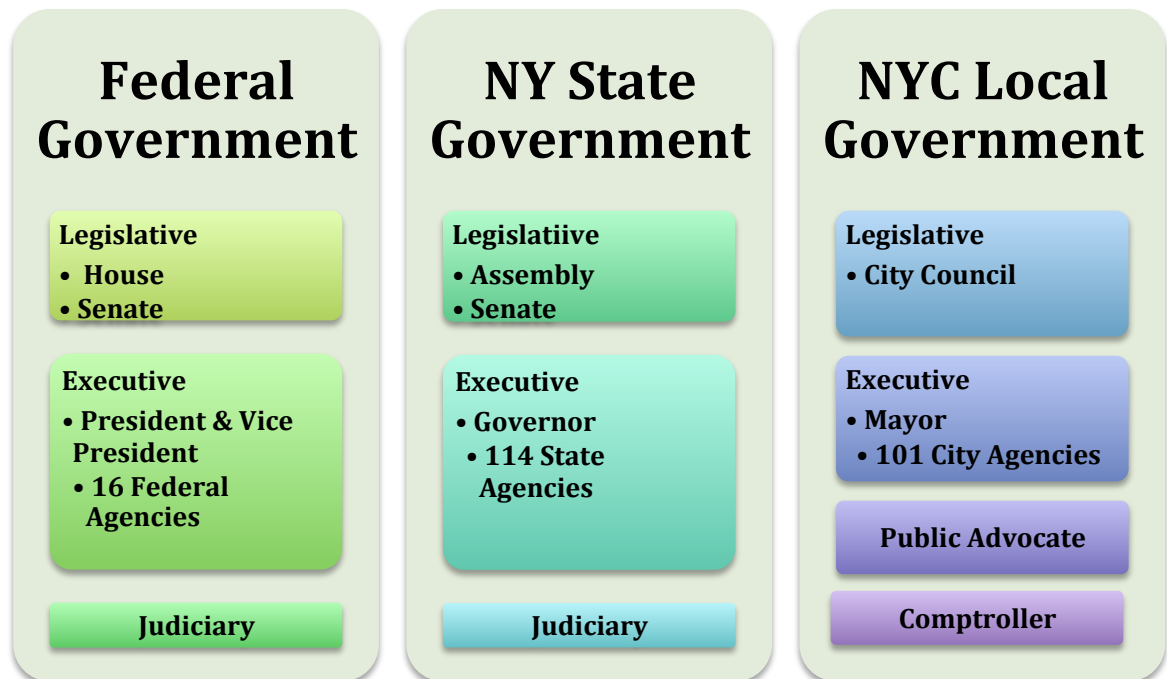


Figure 65 US system of government

In the city, the mayor heads the executive branch and is responsible for all city services and for the enforcement of city and state laws. The structure of the current New York City Council was established in 1938 (although different forms of council can be traced back to the 17th century) and acts as the legislative branch, responsible as the sole law-making body that serves to monitor the performance of city agencies, and oversee various functions of city government through committees. NYC's government structure is known for its highly centralised system.

Briefly, the United States has many levels of law, the *supreme law* is the United States Constitution that outlines the national frame of government and sets out the separation of powers. Federal laws and treaties are made in accordance with the Constitution and help avoid conflicting state and territorial laws. It is then up to the sovereign states to establish their own state constitution, state governments and state courts.

There are a few Federal laws that deal with archaeological resources. These include the Antiquities Act 1906, the National Historic Preservation Act 1966 (NHPA), the Archaeological Resources Protection Act 1979 (ARPA) and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act 1990 (NAGPRA).

6.2.2 *The Planning System and Archaeology before the 1960s*

6.2.2.1.1 The United States

Planning (i.e. land use, urban and environmental planning) and archaeology naturally work together. Other public or private areas of planning such as economic development, health, housing, social security, defence, energy and other policies and programmes are equally interconnected. We can actually see how planning reflects political, social and economic ideologies (see Chapter 3). Urban planning in the US is a new profession of the twentieth century. It is argued that current laws fail to empower the local professional planner and only require advice to be sought by other officials through a mandatory referral, but not necessarily followed (Hommann, 1993). This set up weakens the planning system, and so archaeology under planning is equally weakened.

Land use planning is largely a local matter although many environmental concerns are functioned by both federal and state. However, unlike Britain, there is not the same level of central control: the US government system was set up explicitly to prevent much government control. The ‘American experience, born of its different history, was essentially entrepreneurial and disdainful to government’ (Cullingworth & Caves, 2009: 46), which is a culture reflected in how archaeology is perceived as well. Even so, both economic and social development require the support of government; government has also developed to function as a mediator between conflicting local interests.

To understand planning and conservation, the Progressive Era that took place between the late 1800’s up to around 1920 is a good point to start. It was a significant reform movement of municipal government and of land use planning which grew out of the need to face the challenges and worsening conditions of urban life and local affairs. The Era focused on reform and ‘generally moved toward more professional, more administrative, and more expert-intensive modes of thought and action’ (Peterson, 2003: 263), which we can see mirrored in both trends of city planning *and* historic preservation. There was a series of enquiries, reports, investigations and surveys during this period. New York was in the lead producing legislation battling harsh urban conditions (such as slums and housing) brought on by the Industrial Revolution and urban growth (e.g. Riis, 1890; New York State Tenement House Act 1867; New York Housing Act 1879).

‘The American city planning movement was officially launched in 1893 on the heels of the magnificent Chicago World’s Fair’ with principal figures such as ‘Frederick Law Olmstead, a

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landscape architect, and Daniel Burnham, an architect (Hommann, 1993: 49). Progressive architects looked for an appropriate architectural style for the nation's industrial cities, and the fair was received as a model for reforming Urban America (Lee, 2000: 163-165). A lot of the constructions of new towns and urban reforms prior to the World Fair had focused on combating issues such as health, sanitation, and housing, but only as single-issue campaigns. In a sense the Fair had started a movement, and in 1893 the *Tarnsey Act* was passed by Congress which changed public architecture in the US, allowing professional architects to compete for the building government projects. This changed planning across the country.

The US planning system grew out of movements and proposals which envisioned utopian communities, civic improvement, municipal art, Garden Cities, the City Beautiful, the City Efficient and so on (Talen, 2005): many of these movements were adopted from the UK. The Parks Movement was a powerful movement, where New York City's Central Park (created by Frederick Law Olmstead who created the US naturalistic parks) would demonstrate the ability of wild life preservation within urban areas. The movement was significant because responded to concerns about the preservation of natural and landscape resources, and the 'inefficiencies of contemporary cities' (Cullingworth & Caves, 2009: 48). The City Beautiful movement was equally influential, and had incorporated the need to make cities places of beauty and to embrace naturalistic landscapes into planning. The City Beautiful movement slowly moved towards concern of efficiency and scientific management rather than aesthetics, which then led to the next movement: the City Efficient. All these movements and ideas of reforms are what really pushed planning. 'Between 1910 and 1929 regional plans were actually initiated by citizen's groups...' (Johnson, 1997: 1): the public and citizens played and continue to play a huge role in providing a prominent voice for planning. In 1909, the first National Conference of City Planning was held in Washington DC, during which rhetoric changed from aesthetics and movements, to *city planning*. The early 1900s was a time of the pursuit of expertise, increased legal powers, the refinement of methodology, and new ways of controlling private property (such as zoning), all in the name of planning.

Both planning and historic preservation grew together. The concept of historic preservation focuses heavily on the historic built environment, physical planning and design rather than archaeology per se – and is used as a tool for urban revitalisation and urban development strategy (Listokin & Lahr, 1998; Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). Also, similar to many countries (whether affected by the bombings of World War II or not), the demolition and redevelopment that came after the War created tensions with preservationists and fuelled the movement to further protect the historic environment.

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Interest in archaeology and historic preservation in the US made headway in the late 1800s. In 1879 the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) was founded as a non-profit organisation, which formed a Committee on the Preservation of the Ruins of American Antiquity in 1904. Through lobbying Congress, the AIA was among the organisations involved in drafting and promoting legislation that began the heritage preservation movement in the United States. The push went well with the Progressive Movement mentioned earlier. The movement was seen as an effort to cure the ills of industrial growth that American society had been witnessing; preservation fit that agenda. Progressivism was a powerful political movement, and was advocated by Theodore Roosevelt.¹¹⁶ It worked to preservationists advantage that Roosevelt was loud and effective, as he was a keen conservationist, or naturalist, that valued nature for its own sake and saw it as a source of beauty and inspiration, a habitat and an economic resource. He had realised that forests and wildlife needed protection, and kept that in mind as he set out to expand the role of federal government and increase industrial regulations. At odds with Congress but adamant on making conservation his central policy, Roosevelt secured one of the most important preservation documents in US history, the *1906 Antiquities Act*, which called for the protection of all historic and prehistoric sites on federal lands, prohibiting the excavation, destruction or removal of antiquities unless granted a scientific permit from the Secretary of the Interior, Agriculture and Army, who hold jurisdiction of those lands (e.g. Lee, 1970; Johnson, 1997; Hirst, 2006). The AIA was also Chartered by US Congress the same year. It is impressive that scientific ability had a mark so early on as an official part of the nation's first Act.¹¹⁷

The *1906 Act* gave the President, in this case Roosevelt, sole power to preserve areas of natural beauty, scientific or historic value, by authorising the President to declare areas of public lands as National Monuments. Through this Act, Roosevelt secured the protection of some 230 million acres of national parks, established 18 national monuments, and turned the nation's natural wonders into national parks while protecting wildlife. Interestingly, Roosevelt had used the New York State Museum in Albany as a source of expertise in the drawing of his conservation policies, a museum in which his father had helped found in 1870 as a research institution housing several programmes, centres, and initiatives. Having strong organisations as sources of consultation may have been why the Act so clearly initiates the permit system, requiring that work be carried out by:

...institutions which [are deemed] properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulation as they may prescribe: Provided, that the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the

116 26th president from 1901 to 1909

117 The Antiquities Act is brought up because it is still very applicable in terms of city archaeology in that it protects *all* historic and prehistoric sites on federal land; its UK counterpart, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882; 1900; 1910) focused on ancient monuments but also placed responsibility on state as a responsible authority to safeguarding heritage.

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benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums (Antiquities Act, 16 USC 431-433: Section 3).

The *Antiquities Act 1906* is one of the United States' earliest conservation efforts: some suggest that after politicians had realised an international trend towards preservation, such as the UK's *Ancient Monuments Act 1882*, they were more keen to adopt conservation policies. However, lobbying efforts had been going on for some time.

Although the Act requires that archaeology be considered during the construction of projects, it is not actually a piece of planning legislation. The United States actually was late in providing rules for city plans: whereas Europe saw ordinances and regulations in the 17th century, the US had sporadic regulating codes mostly based on the Nuisance laws, which were the foundation of zoning two centuries later. As mentioned earlier, city planning in the United States is a local responsibility, which creates quite a lot of unique diversity across the huge nation. Zoning, a technique of land-use planning through the control of land, includes various land use laws under the jurisdiction of the state, and is usually administered by local government authorities.¹¹⁸ It is based on the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act (SZA), issued by the Department of Commerce in 1924, and allows government to exercise authority over privately owned property.

6.2.2.1.2 New York

New York City has a lot of autonomy within the state primarily because it is a central hub of wealth and power. It is generally left alone by NY state government officials, although there have been plenty of times in NY history where the state overshadowed city government.¹¹⁹ What this means is that how federal law is implemented, or what state laws are in place, work differently in NYC because of different power relationships and its political set up. The General City Law 1913 marks a key turning point as it granted each city the power 'to regulate, manage, and control its property and local affairs' as well as 'the rights, privileges and jurisdiction necessary and proper for carrying such power into execution'.¹²⁰ In regards to how NYC implements the Acts promoting historic preservation, it, like London, has evolved over time through unique historical circumstances, citizen movements, and government humiliation.

118 In fact, it falls under the police power, which the Constitution confers upon the state governments which then delegate it to local governments.

119 Before the State Constitution of 1848, there were continuous battles between state and cities over state-imposed changes of local officials (rendering local elections pointless). Various amendments to the Constitution highlight this ongoing struggle.

120 General City Law §19, added by Chapter 247 of the Laws of 1913

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Briefly, it was actually New York City that adopted the first zoning regulations. They became the blueprint for zoning throughout the entire country. The city was the go-to for experimental architecture and skyscraper buildings. In 1913, a Report by the Commission on Heights of Buildings¹²¹ stated that height, areas and use should be regulated in the interest of public health and safety. The Report also suggested that regulations should adapt to the different needs of New York's districts. This administering of different regulations on different areas was a huge change to prior regulations and laws administered for planning purposes, but also had its criticisms as an unlawful invasion of private property rights. The court approval came with the regulatory uniformity for buildings of same type or class, and led to the NYC *1916 Zoning Resolution*. This resolution, targeted only at new development, was a response to huge building projects that would prevent light and air reaching neighbours surrounding the building, and was put into motion to help preserve the environmental quality at street level. While zoning is about government legislating for the health, welfare and safety of the community, as mentioned earlier it was actually an extension of the *law of nuisance* (an English common law) that states that persons in possession of real property were entitled to 'quiet enjoyment' of their lands.¹²² It was about developing a standardised way to administer the law of nuisance by avoiding the conflict that property uses had to one another. While the battle in the UK was between national and local governments (note earlier in chapter 4 and 5), the battle in the US was between Constitutional individual rights versus government intrusion: zoning acted to protect the American home against intrusion from dangers and discomforts, but simultaneously demonstrated government's unlimited control over private property, hence unconstitutional. However, with the rapid and phenomenal development of NYC, it seems that those in favour of zoning were exceptionally strong. NYC's adverse reactions to development has had a long history.

1916 was also the year that the New York State Archaeological Association (NYSAA) formed to promote public education regarding archaeological sites and preservation. It remains the primary organisation that brings both professionals and avocational archaeologists together, and is structured by breaking off into 'chapters' that cover the entire NY state. The chapters are local and allow people to be involved in local projects (even excavations on private land) closer to home, and they are all drawn together by annual lectures.

There was a lot of attention and focus towards planning the environment during this period. By 1929, planners developed the monumental *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environ*, privately organised by businessmen and funded by the Russell Sage Foundation, which would become the blueprint for transforming New York (Johnson, 1997). It actually called for the collaboration of

121 For full text, see <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/AJS2249.0001.001>. Interestingly, this report also draws comparisons on European cities (see pg 23).

122 The Nuisance Regulation is not referred to by UK participants at all, however in the US the right to enjoy one's own private property is still central to property rights.

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‘planners, architects, engineers, lawyers, economists, social workers and other specialists’ (Lubove, 1963: 116-117), which demonstrates the perception of planning as interdisciplinary. There are three Regional Plans, considered ground-breaking in their long-range planning to shape and improve quality of life, environmental sustainability and the economy.

In 1934, the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) was set up dedicated to the research, interpretation and protection of the archaeological heritage of the Americas.¹²³ Through their Government Affairs Committee, they represent the archaeological community before US Congress and other federal agencies. The Society was set up to represent professionals, students, and avocational archaeologists working in various areas of archaeology, and to help move towards the professionalisation of archaeology alongside the provisions set out by the 1906 Antiquities Act.

The Antiquities Act only really targeted landmarks, structures or sites on federal land, which means that in most circumstances¹²⁴ the Act has no jurisdiction on private land.¹²⁵ The Act expanded to include parks, monuments and all historic sites through the *Historic Sites Act* of 1935 which declared ‘...that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States’ (Historic Sites Act 1935: sections 461-467). It called upon federal agencies to take account of preservation needs in their programmes and plans, and in Section 462 gave the National Park Service (NPS) and the Secretary of the Interior a range of powers and responsibilities which for the first time promoted and authorised the surveying and identification of historic sites throughout the country (known as the National Historic Landmark programme); authorisation to perform preservation work; and the codification and institutionalisation of the Historic American Buildings Survey (which was established in 1933 by the NPS). The National Historic Landmark programme would later become the base for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1966 through the Natural Historic Preservation Act (NHPA).

Even though the US did not experience bombings during WW2, the War still marks a period of change, albeit in a different way. US cities and the entire landscape were changing by huge development projects. NYC similarly was led by large regional developments, urban renewal and highway projects from the beginning of the 1929 Regional Plan past the Second World War. These developments had begun taking place after the hard hit of the Great Depression. Robert Moses, known as the master-builder of 20th century New York City, led a lot of the city’s vision and renewal projects. He held tremendous power in the city through his political connections, and

123 SAA is an *international* organisation which includes protecting the heritage of the US, Canada, Mexico, Central America, South America, the Caribbean, among other nations.

124 Eminent domain is an exception whereby the state or national government has the power to take over private property for public use providing that they give ‘just compensation’/ ‘fair market value’

125 While private owners can do as they like in the UK as well, there is a strong cultural difference in the weight of private property and its close relationship with constitutional rights.

was also known for his skill in drafting legislation. He managed to secure huge amounts of federal funds and during his reign constructed roads, bridges, playgrounds, parks, housing and other massive post-war projects. It is worth noting on just how much of the city changed during Moses' era and just how much power one individual had to execute their personal vision and build anything they liked in the city. Ralph Solecki,¹²⁶ one of the founding fathers of archaeology in NYC, recounts how as a boy aged 13 or so, he and a friend used to run around sites and collect 'specimens' and 'following the bulldozers' led by Robert Moses' 'big push'. Sadly, Solecki recalls, 'people at the museums were not too interested' but Solecki continued his hobby regardless. His recollection shows that not many people were interested in historic archaeology at that point (pers. comm., Solecki, 2013: 3; see also Cantwell & Wall, 2001: 15). This is brought up again in Section 7.2.5.

Moses' power, with the fact that both The Depression years and World War years were quiet as far as historic preservation went, meant that whole neighbourhoods, communities and entire boroughs were transformed, destroying building after building within only a few decades. At the same time, the preservation profession expanded, and had meanwhile established the quasi-governmental National Trust of Historic Preservation in 1949. The rapid change and what was seen as the crushing of the intimate character of small neighbourhoods led to Moses' demise, along with the rise of one of the strongest historic preservation movements of the late 50s and 60s led by Jane Jacobs whose impact rippled throughout many great American cities (Jacobs, 1961; Teaford, 1990, 2000). She is an exemplar of the strength of the people's movements in the US.

In 1956, New York State became the first to pass legislation enabling municipalities to enact an ordinance for individual landmark buildings (as distinct from historic areas). With public outrage growing stronger, and with Jane Jacobs 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, opinion was turning against Moses' vision and his idea of a great futuristic city with highways and automobiles.

6.2.3 *The 1960s*

The extra push came with the demolition of NYC's Pennsylvania Station in 1963 raising huge criticism on urban renewal (Gans, 1959; Jacobs, 1961; Anderson, 1964). Urban activism in publication created a huge paradigm shift in urban planning, one being Martin Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer* (1964), criticising urban renewal and federal programmes as both destructive of personal liberty and failures in their own right.

126 American archaeologist (b. 1917) associated with his work at the Neanderthal site of Shanidar Cave; also associated with NYU, one of the founders of PANYC and also considered one of the first archaeologists during the professionalisation of archaeology in NYC

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Carol Weed¹²⁷ recalls archaeology during this period, addressing the professional environment and also the atmosphere:

...there was just the beginning of a sort of two-track experience: before the mid-1960s, before the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in this Country went into action in '66, you either taught archaeology or you were in a museum. After the Act went through, and it was apparent there was going to have to be a lot more attention expended to considering the cultural resources - all types of cultural resources - that became the basis for the actual industry of archaeology in the United States. Then what happened was there was a three-track: there was a very small number of people that went into museum work. A lot of them were involved in what we refer to as Old World Archaeology. They were still heavily focused on the Tigris, Euphrates, and Egypt. The Mediterranean Complex to a lesser degree, but with a fairly strong presence. Mayan. Incan. It was still very much that sort of colonial response, let's go to the Old World and literally find the tip of the pyramid. That was primarily museum-related work. Some work was also being done out of universities in that. But some of the universities also had incipient Salvage Archaeology programmes, and those were primarily being put in place in response to the National Historic Preservation Act. Then there was literally the industry that was beginning to grow up around response to the industry, that wasn't tied to the academic calendar. And that was the big clue - it couldn't be tied to the academic calendar. Because you couldn't have your entire staff - as it were - leave in June and come back in September when work had to continue! So at that point, people were trying to figure out what you needed to - as it were - be a professional in any of these areas. And the decision pretty much was self-evident that if you were in museums, and you had some sort of a teaching load, it was likely that you were going to go get your doctorate. But you could also teach - at least in some topic areas - if you just had a masters. And if you were serious about continuing field work, without an academic tie, then you didn't necessarily have to go on and get your PhD...the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA)...it became part of a larger permitting effort. And the cultural resources, too, - those cultural resources that you had to consider - began to really flush themselves out. Because initially it started as heavily focused on archaeology, and historic buildings. Save the towns before the freeway went through the centre of the cities or through our battlefields or across the canal, which had been catastrophic in terms of most of the eastern cities in the United States. That was the impetus for NHPA, and NEPA. It was to basically try to prevent us from destroying out history in such a cavalier way (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 3).

What Weed highlights is that, prior to the changes brought about by environmental and historic preservation movements and legislation, archaeology had predominantly focused on the Old World, or Native American Societies, and then had moved on to colonial history (Cantwell & Wall, 2001: 9).

The environmental movement was crucial. New York City was the first to take advantage of the State's ordinance for individual landmark buildings: a New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) was established in 1965, empowered to designate properties of significant historic or aesthetic value. The Commission designates individual exterior and interior landmarks, as well as scenic landmarks and historic districts. Designated properties cannot be demolished or altered without the approval of the Commission. This is given only if the Commission decides that the proposed works will have no effect on the protected architectural

127 Senior Project Manager/Cultural and Natural Resources of Vanasse Hangen Brustlin, Inc (consultancy); previously a senior archaeologist and Principal Investigator

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features; is otherwise consistent with the purposes of the landmarks law; or is necessary to secure a reasonable return to the owner. Amanda Sutphin,¹²⁸ Director of Archaeology at LPC, explains:

There are over 23,000 properties that are landmarked, so it really depends where in the city you are. But then I have to say we're still evolving about archaeological resources. There are three types of landmarking: the individual landmark and there we do regulate archaeological resources; there's scenic landmarks which are parks which we regulate - we regulate archaeology in all landmarked city parks; and then the third are historic district/private home-owners, and those we do not always require archaeology for. We're still working on that one (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 9).

The widespread public outcry to the demolition of NYC landmark Pennsylvania Station led to the creation and legitimacy of the Commission. The 1963 demolition in many ways is similar to the Rose Theatre in London (see 5.2.1.1), as it instigated strong legislation afterwards. Despite some criticisms towards the way LPC functions, it coincided with Moses' loss of public and government support. Similar sentiment was felt in many cities undergoing the huge changes of modernism.

Yet another non-profit organisation, the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology (CNEHA) was set up in 1966 to advance the collection, preservation and dissemination of knowledge from archaeological work. At the same time, with the help of another powerful manifesto *With Heritage So Rich* (1966) published by the US Conference of Mayors and the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP), the nation welcomed yet another groundbreaking federal Act mentioned in Carol Weed's comment above. The publication outlined the scale of demolition and negative outcomes with recommendations for federal policy. Recommendations directly from the publication were immediately implemented by the *1966 National Historic Preservation Act* (NHPA). Recommendations include the introduction of a National Register of Historic Places (mentioned earlier in this chapter); the creation of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for preservation and rehabilitation work required by the State Historic Preservation Offices; and the establishment of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). ACHP is composed of the heads of federal agencies¹²⁹ who by nature of their departmental activities regularly affect historic properties. It is vested with the authority to advise the President and Congress on historic preservation matters to promote the protection and enhancement of the nation's historic resources. The initiative was also seen in other areas of law, such as the *US Department of Transportation*

128 Director of Archaeology at NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission from 2002 to present; previous Urban Archaeologist at NYC LPC from 1994.

129 Agencies are of the executive branch of the government structure. The government is divided into various Departments, which have many different agencies executing services. Employees are considered civil servants. So, for example, the NPS is under the Department of the Interior; Army Corps of Engineers under the Department of Defense; the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the Environmental Protection Agency is under Interior agencies as an independent agency headed by a Cabinet secretary (meaning they are independent from presidential control). The Department of Transportation is said to have the strongest federal provision of historic preservation, due to the huge infrastructure projects developed throughout the nation.

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Act (1966), which limited the Federal Highway Administration's ability to demolish historic properties (USDTA, 1966: Section 4f).

NHPA was transformational, and with the new institutions and stronger requirements in place, the need for contracting archaeologists gave birth to the archaeological profession within NYC. Together, the presence of law and institutions created and shaped NYC archaeology, providing it with legitimacy. Unlike London, prior to the law, archaeology simply did not exist in the city.

Furthermore, the introduction of the NRHP was significant. It is the responsibility of and maintained by the Keeper of the National Register in the National Park Service (NPS) of the Department of the Interior. The list includes anything that constitutes significance on a national, state, or local level to American history, and as such, these cultural resources may include districts, sites, buildings, structures, objects, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and other forms of culture. Any work by federal agencies that may affect properties either included or eligible to the list must follow the statutory process of review and consultation with the ACHP. The federal government is committed by law to protect these resources: this review process is popularly known as Section 106:

The head of any Federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall, prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The head of any such Federal agency shall afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this Act a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking (NHPA, 1966)

NHPA also introduces the designation and duties of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), as mentioned earlier. Through NHPA, all federal actions and federally funded projects are monitored or reviewed by preservationists, a process undertaken by the SHPO. Each state develops and administers a State Historic Preservation Plan, conducts a comprehensive state-wide survey on all historic properties listed, and can nominate properties to the NRHP. Interestingly, most properties listed on the NRHP are privately owned: a 'property owner can do whatever they want with their property as long as there are no Federal monies attached to the property', but are also eligible for certain tax provisions should they rehabilitate the property.¹³⁰ The state also helps implement federal law through helping administer financial assistance programmes for property owners, carry out various public administration, and training programmes on all facets of historic preservation. So, the state helps both the Federation achieve its goals, as well as local

¹³⁰ See NPS websites: 'National Register of Historic Places Program: Frequently Asked Questions' <http://www.nps.gov/nr/faq.htm#benefits> retrieved March 2015

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government.

The NYS State Historic Preservation Office (NYSHPO) was set up as a federal requirement by NHPA. Brian Yates¹³¹ of NYSHPO explains his view of SHPOs role and responsibility:

We have regions - there's a survey and evaluation unit, which essentially handle above-ground stuff; the archaeologists handle the reviews for the below-ground stuff; and then if there are significant historic properties within projects - area potential effects - then there's technical services that help the applicant deal with adverse effects....However they pretty much only do that for the structures because the archaeologists essentially have to speak for themselves...so the archaeologists not only review but are responsible for everything from recommending surveys, reviewing surveys, concurring with eligibility determinations, recommending mitigation (whether that's Phase 3 data recovery, whether it's some kind of alternative mitigation), producing DVDs, producing displays, producing brochures, books, publications - traditionally mitigation in State Historic Preservation for an archaeology site means they recover it. You get a report, it goes on the shelf, it becomes grey literature, and who does that help? It may never see the light of day again until archaeologists are back in there doing research looking for surveys in the area. So there's often no benefit to the public. Ultimately the public - taxpayers' dollars - are paying for a lot of this to happen...for instance, I review all the transportation projects in New York State - so DOT and Federal administration - all their projects, it's all taxpayer dollars that are funding this. Is the taxpayer getting back? Is it responsible just to put reports on the shelf? And the public literally never knows it exists...I'm really big for alternative mitigation - particularly projects mitigation efforts that have a public education component...The archaeologist handles all of that because the structure folks really can't speak for them. If you have a project that goes to mitigation, we still have to be involved. So pretty much from start to finish, if there's archaeology resources involved, we're involved...We don't engage the public necessarily. But what we will do is we will make sure that there is a public education component in the mitigation process (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 8).

Yates' interview suggests that there is a lot of responsibility that falls on SHPO, yet their role is advisory (like EH). This advisory position is successful through effective networking and building relationships (see Section 7.2.1).

The key point is that NHPA set up key processes that really took archaeology forward. It was a response to a huge public outcry in the 1960s: these public outcries really spurred significant legislation, another introduced below.

The Society of Historical Archaeology formed in 1968 (as part of an initiative from the American Anthropological Association (AAA) founded in 1902), symbolised a new growing interest in historical archaeology that had not been of interest before. Shortly after, led again by people's participation in the freeway revolts as the Interstate Highway System tore through the nation, and by strong reactions to protect the environment after the 1969 Santa Barbara oil spill, the *National Environment Policy Act of 1969* (NEPA) came out. It is a national policy of environmental protection that established the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The Act

131 At time of interviews (2013), was a reviewer at NYSHPO paid by private funds. Previously worked for the National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, the National Museum of the Netherlands, the Florida SHPO

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requires all federal agencies to take into account the effects of their actions on the environment, which includes the built environment, through preparing environmental assessments (EAs) and environmental impact statements (EISs). It has a historic preservation element, referring to the preservation of ‘important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of national heritage’ and the maintenance, wherever possible of ‘an environment which supports diversity and variety of individual choice’ (NEPA, 1969). Between NHPA and NEPA, there are some overlapping points, however the two Acts reinforce each other and where, for example, NHPA is weakened or in conflict with land use policies, NEPA at least may be used to compel agencies to consider historic properties.

6.2.4 *The 1970s*

NEPA was enacted January 1st 1970. It continued the spirit of the 60s through more federal policies such as the *1974 Housing and Community Development Act* and the *1978 Urban Development Action Grants* that both promoted localism (Ryberg- Webster & Kinahan, 2014). The New York Archaeological Council (NYAC) formed in 1972 to act as NYS’s professional body. The formation of this body demonstrates that archaeology really began to take off as a profession outside from academia and the closed world it had been in. The creation of professional bodies suggests that the profession felt it needed representation on a ‘professional’ level alongside other stakeholders in which it formally engages with. This is exactly what had happened with NHPA and NEPA: a huge part of archaeology, **cultural resource management** (CRM), became about compliance. NYAC was formed as a not-for-profit association and to this day continues to promote the exchange of information, involve the public, and help guide and direct archaeological research. It has an established code of ethics and professional standards, promoting the responsibilities and necessary competence required from any practitioner involved with the historic environment.

During the same period, the SAA too became increasingly active in lobbying for legislation: its effort alongside the nationwide circulation of the *Stewards of the Past* pamphlet (which warned of archaeological destruction by Federal development) pushed through the *Moss-Bennett Bill*, also known as the *1974 Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act* (AHPA). It expanded on the *Reservoir Salvage Act* of 1960 and complemented the *Historic Sites Act* of 1935 by emphasising the preservation of scientific and archaeological data which might be lost or destroyed during federal construction; it also allowed federal agencies to fund any salvage of scientific, prehistorical, historical or archaeological data by using a portion of project funds for archaeological survey, recovery, analysis and publication of results (Smith, 2004: 133; see also

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USDA Forest Service website).¹³²

In 1976, the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) was set up to focus on ethics and performance standards of professional archaeologists in the US (see Society of Professional Archaeologist, 1988; Beaudry, 2009).

During the 1970s and 80s, archaeology reached a new height in NYC:

...the late 70s and early 80s, if you want to say the heyday of doing archaeology in New York City, [archaeology] was sort of new: compliance regulations were new, there were some monies around, and...New York City Landmarks was a little more dominant in its relationship with developers and stuff...Within a five or six year period. There were a number of really large excavations on blocks that cost a lot of money. There was State House...there was Hanover Square, there was the Assay site, there was the Ronson ship on Water Street, there was one on Wall Street, there were a couple slightly smaller ones uptown, and then there was a lot of work in Staten Island. Southern Staten Island which was pre-contact, pre-historic sites, but much of the work in New York City was 17th, 18th and 19th century sites...they were quite large and they produced a lot of data and they produced a lot of artefacts, a lot of cultural material...It was compliance contract archaeology. There was the city-seeker. There was the State Environmental Quality Review Act, and then there was the City Environment Quality Review Act, that drove many of these projects. You had to evaluate the quality of the impact of the project on economics, endangered species, traffic, noise, wetlands, and cultural resources (pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 22).

The *Archaeological Resources Protection Act* (ARPA) was passed in 1979 as a federal law, which set out the rules of excavation, removal, custody of resources and penalties of archaeological practice, but also fostered better communication, cooperation and exchange of information with private individuals involved with collections of archaeological resources and data on their property. The expansion on prohibited acts and criminal or civil penalties was seen as a big step forward from the *1906 Antiquities Act*. While there was punishment, there was also reward: up until the 1970s, ‘federal tax code made it more financially beneficial to demolish and build new’ (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014: 121). However in 1976 Congress adopted federal tax incentives for historic preservation and tax credit for rehabilitation. In fact a lot of benefits such as low-interest loan programmes are offered for historic preservation projects.

Kent Barwick,¹³³ who was head of Landmarks from 1978 to 1983, discusses how archaeology in NY during this period used various environmental laws to work in its favour:

...NY did not have, in the 70s or the 80s when I was working for the Landmark Preservation Commission, a general archaeological law. But it had a law called CEQR [City Environment Quality Review], and under CEQR (which was not unlike the NEPA or the New York State Environmental Quality Review Act): what that legislation was in the past attempting to do was to get policy makers - when they had discretionary acts - to take some account of the environmental and other impacts of

132 See USDA Forest Service website, ‘Laws, Regulations and Executive Orders authorizing historic preservation’ from <http://www.fs.usda.gov/detail/r1/learning/history-culture/?cid=stelprdb5335841>

133 Currently president emeritus of the Municipal Art Society of New York, served as president from 1999 to 2009; previously chairman of LPC from 1978 to 1983 and advisor to the National Trust for Historic Preservation from 1981 to 1990.

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their actions. The way that worked in NY, if the developer had to seek a special permit, you require an environmental review or assessment. In Lower Manhattan, all the lots are irregular. New York laid out its lots...all over there are rectangular lots. In Lower Manhattan there are ancient Dutch streets...with irregular lots...So they had to do reviews, or they wanted to, and that's where most of the archaeology came from...It doesn't mean that there weren't good sites, there was just no law that could tell outside of the need for this special permit... (pers. comm., Barwick, 2013: 10)

The historic preservation movement used any law that it could. Also, because of the popularity of local historic districting that exploded in the 1960s and 1970s (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014), there was a preservation-conscious rise in policy. Basically during the end of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, historical archaeology reached its heyday, particularly under the guidance of NYU's Bert Salwen.¹³⁴

Bert was really truly the founder and mentor to so many. We used to make jokes: Bert had a master plan for his students. He took a very different attitude. He felt CRM was a legitimate field of research and should be on an equal footing with people of academic positions. He literally would decide where a particular student was going to go.... And for many many years the graduate students were known as the NYU mafia (pers. comm. Klein, 2013: 53-55).

Eugene Boesch, who worked at Stadt Huys comments:

At that time in the 70s, most of the archaeology that was being done in the city came out of NYU or City College. There were some other people in Brooklyn College but a large part of it was from NYU by a guy of the name of Bert Salwen. In the late 70s, I did a few jobs in Staten Island, Long Island and stuff, but the first large New York City job that I was involved in was in the Stadt House, the State House, in '79 to '80 (pers. comm. Boesch, 2013: 17),

Stadt Huys (or State House: the first city hall of Dutch New Amsterdam) was the first large-scale urban archaeological project located in lower Manhattan in the Wall Street district (see Cantwell & Wall, 2001: 16-30 for in-depth account of project). Because the excavation was such a success, it marked a key point for archaeology in New York City: from that point on no one could argue that no archaeology was left between the skyscraper city nor that it would be a waste of money.

6.2.5 The 1980s

The 1970s and 1980s were really key in setting up formal structures for communication and partnership between different levels of government. The NHPA was amended in 1980, and required each state to ensure local government be certified by the SHPO for participating in national historic preservation programmes and fulfilling the relevant responsibilities. This is

¹³⁴ Known as the father of NYC urban archaeology. Previously an engineer, he moved to NYU and developed urban archaeology in the city.

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known as a Certified Local Government (CLG), which helps the state accomplish both state and national goals. CLGs need to be state-approved by demonstrating that there is a programme set up to recognise and protect historic, archaeological and architectural resources. NYS came out with the *New York State Historic Preservation Act* of 1980 as a counterpart to the NHPA, declaring historic preservation to be public policy and in the public interest of the state, establishing agency preservation officers within state agencies and also setting up the NYS Register of Historic Places.

In the same year, the Professional Archaeologists of New York City, Inc. (PANYC) was founded by key NYU academic archaeologists Bert Salwen and Ralph Solecki (mentioned earlier; also see pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 66; pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 14) to promote cooperation and communication between NYC archaeologists, and as an advocacy group. It had initially come together a year earlier as a response to the Goldman Sachs development at Stadt Huys. By the 80s, the ‘bull-market years’ (Cantwell & Wall, 2001: 30), requirements from LPC and the state had meant that there was a need for more archaeologists involved with CRM. Archaeology in NYC would then move further from academia into CRM under Salwen and others, but developers would also learn more about the process and archaeology’s place in it:

I guess Bert Salwen was really the driving force, not only in archaeology in New York City, but nationally. He went over and spent a lot of years in Washington DC being a driving force in a lot of the federal regulations for archaeology, for protection of cultural resources. So naturally he brought all of that knowledge and contacts and everything else with him. He was in NYU at the time, he had a dual post...Burt died in the late 80s, and the economy sort of changed - developer’s lawyers got a little bit more savvy in terms of cultural resources and it slowly changed. NYU right now does not have much of a regional archaeology programme. They really don’t have anyone that’s interested in doing local New York City or Eastern North American archaeology. That emphasis was replaced in the 80s by a lot of local contracting firms. Local archaeology firms. With local archaeology firms, the quality of work is variable. Some are more developer-friendly, some are more interested in a more proprietary interest in the resources. So it just changed. As usual economics played a large part in it. Those who worked cheapest tended to get the work (pers. comm. Boesch, 2013: 4).

Now while both historic preservation and zoning are part of the city’s development programme, one of the fundamental aspects to keep in mind is that the US is very stringent about property rights. Buildings developed under ‘as-of-right’ are usually not required to undergo environmental review (CEQR) for example. The property rights and infringing Constitutional rights are so weighted in the States, that government bodies try to encourage various requirements for environmental protection through different methods. The Commission, for example, made sure that zoning would not devalue property and that huge areas were zoned for business and industrial use. There is a sort of juggling in terms of trying to not impose on rights, while trying to protect other rights. In that sense, zoning is more a tool for planning than long-term development

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regulation. However because its surrounding concept is based on ‘the enjoyment of land’ by landowners, it enables an important process in which ‘residents of a *local* community examine what people propose to do with their land, and decide whether or not they will permit it’ (Garner & Callies, 1972: 305).

The Comprehensive Plan, required from the 1921 *Standard State Zoning Enabling Act* (SZEa) and further detailed in the 1928 *Standard City Planning Enabling Act*, is another required process driven by stakeholder consultation, and led by public participation. It sets out a long-term vision for the direction the city should go. Although it is not legally-binding, it does provide a long-term plan using new citywide policies and site-specific recommendations. The current publication of NYC’s comprehensive plan is *Vision 2020* introduced in 2011 which very much focuses on NYC’s waterfront.¹³⁵

Interestingly, despite the various legislation and agencies in place to protect historic properties, the tradition in the US to have a mistrust towards government and a very strong sentiment of individual rights and property rights has meant that planning has grown more through a market-led ideology (Cullingworth & Caves 2009). Local government acts to facilitate economic development. Planning is seen as necessarily enforcing restraint on individual actions, so it instigates many feelings of opposition and claims that property and individual rights are being violated or infringed. This results in limitations on the scope of planning, which is manifested more in the US than other countries (ibid). Immediately, we see how the United State’s ideology of individualism shapes political agendas which consequently shape planning laws. Not only that, but Constitutional safeguards played out through the courts become extremely active in the land use planning process, and highly influenced by politics. Unfortunately, this is where any preservation law becomes weak: if a municipality does not wish to adopt a local historic preservation law, it does not have to. The City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR) only impacts developers who require federal funds or permission (such as rezoning variance), but does not apply to those who do not require permissions or funding. This means if development complies with regulations and does not require any special permit or variance, the developer can do as they like ‘as of right’ with their property and federal legislation does not apply to it. There are various taxation incentives in place and other programmes to encourage developers to consider environmental impact beforehand, but this is very much left to the discretion of the landowner. What does happen however, is that jurisdiction may make permits a confusing process. Retired NYSHPO officer, Douglas Mackey¹³⁶, explains:

Everywhere SHPO works we get into this issue of what laws are the projects being

¹³⁵ See <http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/cwp/index.shtml> for pdf

¹³⁶ Retired; previously reviewer of SHPO

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done under. If it was a federal project - federal permit involved and federal money - in NYC, it was SHPOs project, and LPC would consult as any other interested party would. On the other hand, if it's a local project with no federal money involved, then it's LPCs project - maybe - depending on if the law allowed them to be in it or not, and we would consult with them if she (Amanda Sutphin - LPC archaeologist) asked us. And then there are State projects that have both state and local money in them, so we were both on equal footing there. She had her responsibilities, and we had ours. And New York, it's interesting because we have the three laws that we work under. The Federal, the State, and then SEQRA (State Environmental Quality Review Act). SEQRA (NYC has City - CEQRA which is similar) is a law that says if there's not State or Federal direct involvement, if there's no permits or funding, it's up to the local agency or the town to be in charge. The town could decide to ask for our opinion at the SHPO or not. We are there for them and we are always happy to give support and advice, and if they asked for us they could say we reached out to the specialists and are following their guidance. If they didn't, then it'd open the town to being sued by people in the town who say, 'hey you don't know what you're doing.' So most of the towns did work with us but they didn't have to, nor did they have to agree with what we said. So it really became a mix of stuff (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 22).

One main example of the process not going so smoothly is most notably the site at 17 State Street in NYC, which became 'a case celebre for preservationists, archaeologists, and developers alike' (Cantwell, & Wall, 2001: 31). In 1985, private developers began preparation for construction, and applied to the Department of City Planning for a zoning variance, requiring environmental review under CEQR. A background study was requested by LPC, but somehow the developer had received planning permission as an 'as of right' building. The developers then overlooked the LPC request, and bulldozed the site. A public hearing was held by the city's Board of Standards and Appeals, and a decision was made in favour of LPC and the archaeologists ruling that the developer agree to create and maintain a small museum of NYC archaeology at the site, seen as a punishment by the developer. The tiny museum was set up in 1990, *New York Unearthed*, and was administered by South Street Seaport Museum until its closure in 2005. It closed because the developer had fulfilled their punishment and no longer had to maintain the museum.

6.2.6 *The 1990s*

In 1990, the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* gave lineal descendants of Native Americans or those affiliated with material culture vested rights and a formalised role in the protection of archaeological objects and human remains. It is restricted in jurisdiction to federal agencies, federally funded projects, on federal or tribal lands (Soderland, 2010). As Anne-Marie Cantwell mentions:

One of the things that maybe separates New York from London is...the US is a settler nation, England is not. That means that we have indigenous peoples, and there are very different laws governing these sites. And the National Parks Service recently has been the agency that has really dealt with handling this. Native sites - there's a big native site on Ellis Island: NPS handled reburial of that. Museum's here handle Native stuff

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very differently from the way they handle settler stuff...the whole country is built on native sites...when people think of archaeology in New York, it's really after European arrival, it's not pre-arrival. The United States has never come to grips with the fact that they're built on someone else's' land. It's not a glorious story (pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 2; see also Fowles, 2013: 15).

Indeed the archaeology of Native Americans and the politics of pre-contact versus historical archaeology is a massive issue which is felt in the archaeology profession: museums do not want to deal with it, contractors do not want to find it. Although not discussed in this paper, it is worth noting that historical archaeology offered archaeologists an alternative focus which did not involve sensitive issues of rights, colonisation or politics (Smith, 2004: 136-142).

However, that said, a huge event in NYC's archaeological development was the African Burial Ground controversy, which took place right at the end of the 80s into the early 90s. It is an excellent example of a community becoming active. It also highlights the fragmentation within the community itself, based on the past, social and descendant identity, the government's role in overlooking the importance of identity politics and national cultural anxiety, and the huge emotive uprise and backlash heritage can create. It demonstrates that in a global city, archaeology and identity still have a very prominent role (for further details on the African Burial Ground, see Cantwell & Wall, 2001: 278-294; Blakey, 2003; see Section 7.2.1.2.1).

Also during the 1990s, the Register Task Force was established by the Society for American Archaeology, Society of Professional Archaeologists, Society for Historical Archaeology and the Archaeological Institute of America to form an executive board to look into concepts such as ethics and standards. While different organisations such as the SAA and AIA have codes of ethics and professional standards, it was clear that these organisations did not have the means to enforce such basic standards of professionalism (McGimsey III, Lipe, Seifert: 1995). With the sponsorship of the SAA, SHA and AIA, SOPA was transformed into the Register of Professional Archaeologists (ROPA) in 1997, where registered professional archaeologists (RPAs) would hope to improve the overall performance of archaeologists through supporting and accepting a unified code and the establishment of minimal basic standards.

While a significant amount took place during the 90s, it was also the start of declining government resources, which meant that non-governmental organisations began to play an increasingly important role in conservation. By the 1990s, more than 1,200 land trusts were active in the US, a 63% increase from the 80s. They are responsible for protecting nearly 5 million acres in the US. Non-governmental activities – particularly in the 1990s – play a huge role in the preservation and planning movements in the US, demonstrating the strength of national

and local organisations.

6.2.7 The Noughties to Present Time of Writing

From 2000 to today, a lot of events have taken place in the US planning, focusing particularly on climate, the environment and sustainability in tune with global trends. However, because planning and environmental concerns are local matters, it has led to problems in terms of intergovernmental communication and coordination (Cullingworth & Caves, 2009: 80). There are over 87,000 local governments and 19,000 municipalities, making coordination a difficult process (US Census Bureau, 2002). Not necessarily a consequence of this, but certainly integral to the land use planning processes, is the role of the courts to ensure constitutional safeguards are in place (see Section 7.3.3.3.2).

The rise of sustainability concerns is largely due to environmental movements, such as ‘smart growth’. The Federal Environment Protection Agency (EPA) sponsored the creation of the Smart Growth Network, which acts as an umbrella organisation to bring together ‘Congress for the New Urbanism, the Growth Management Leadership Alliance and many other professional and pressure groups in the field of conservation and environment protection’ (Ward, 2002: 350). Many of these endeavours start entirely within civil society, but are nonetheless linked with the profit motive of finding workable concepts to encourage the city planning profession while simultaneously making money from it (Friedmann, 2011).

The past decade or so has been noted as the decade of infrastructure (Marshall, 2010): these include the start and also extension of numerous subway channels and access, all billion dollar projects. While archaeology remains a part of law, archaeologists feel the pressures of working in an industry fuelled by politics, money and power.

In archaeology 2014 saw a huge accomplishment for any city. This is the recent achievement of New York City’s first official archaeological repository as of April 2014. Together with the Museum of the City of New York and NYC Landmarks, the 426 m² repository has pulled together artefacts held in 13 places scattered around the city, mostly universities. Although not open to the public, it is open to scholars and museums upon request (see Section 7.2.5.1). NYC previously had suffered from the lack of a repository and involvement by museums to take an interest in historical archaeology. Although the capital of NYS, Albany, succeeds in having a great museum with partnerships stretching across academia, CRM, government and local bodies, NYC struggles on this level.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a very brief introduction to understanding some of the processes, structures and laws in place that impact historic preservation and planning in NYC. It has swung between federal, state and city laws to understand the relationship between different levels of government, but also to demonstrate weight, impact and influence of government levels between one another.

There are a number of events and points that have been skimmed over quickly, such as the African Burial Ground controversy (see Section 7.2.1.2.1), and more recently the World Trade Center negotiations and redevelopment (see pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 79-96). The vital aspects here, however, are that (a) the civil movement in the United States is very powerful and continues to play a dominant role in planning and environmental concerns such as historic preservation; (b) although the law in the US is a very powerful driving force, the role of government is often marked with suspicion particularly in historic preservation and archaeology's relation with land use and private property.

7 Chapter Seven: Results - Urban Archaeology in New York City

‘...That Vertical City with Unimaginable Diamonds’

Le Corbusier

7.1 Introduction

The United States has a different tradition of identifying with the past because of its colonial character and strong individualistic attitudes towards rights, land and property. Added to that is the public’s antagonistic relationship with the government, mentioned earlier in Section 6.2.2, and a constant underlying movement by both republicans and liberals to weaken federal government and their regulatory power on local matters.

The chapter structure presented here is similar to Chapter 6 in that it is based on perceptions and attitudes of archaeologists working in the city. The goal is to present different perceptions of success and failure, and opinions on where NYC stands today based on the views of those who were literally there at the start of professional archaeology in NYC and those who now follow in their footsteps.

7.2 The Organisations Engaged In New York City’s Archaeology

At first the organisations engaged with archaeology in NYC appear convoluted and confusing, partially because often jurisdictions overlap according to different laws. Chapter 6 clarifies this by introducing a brief background to the institutional and legal frameworks. After understanding the role of Federal agencies, LPC and SHPO, for example, it is easier to understand the relationships and dynamics between government’s numerous agencies (all which are subject to ensuring federal law is upheld), and the implications of federal versus local laws. This section presents key organisations with influence, power and authority in NYC.

7.2.1 *The Government Bodies*

There are two main bodies in NYS (SHPO and LPC) established to provide advice and support for any development requiring federal/state funding or permits. Sometimes they work together, sometimes there are projects that are only in Landmark’s jurisdiction, and other times only SHPO’s (e.g. pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 8, 22, 27; pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 16, 31). ‘The

tradition...is to defer to Landmarks in general, because they have the more local expertise than we do...’, says SHPO reviewer Perazio,¹³⁷ so sometimes the relationship is not so ‘blatant’ (pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 27).

These two government bodies are highly impacted by how the law can be interpreted or by those in higher positions: ‘the outcome might be different based on the politics, but not because of the reviewer, it’s because of other people involved in the process’, says Mackey (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 25-26). My observations note that there is a great acknowledgement of the hierarchy and pressures imposed on those further down the ladder, far more than was seen – or revealed – in London (discussed more in Section 7.3.1.1.1).

7.2.1.1 The New York State Historic Preservation Office

The State Historic Preservation Offices are an integral part of the federal and state system, which is also partially funded by federal money from the Historic Preservation Fund, and sometimes from private bodies (see pers. comm. Klein, 2013: 115).

SHPO acts in an advisory capacity under statute law and their role is to advise and assist federal agencies in carrying out their historic preservation requirements. They have no enforcement authority nor any authority to make anybody do anything: Section 106 is a *procedural* law, which means as long as the federal applicant or agency goes through the process, the outcome does not really matter (e.g. pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 13; pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 12; pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 25). As Brian Yates explains:

Each State typically has two primary historic preservation laws that they deal with. They each have the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended, and its incorporating amendments 36 CFR Part 800;¹³⁸ and then a equivalent State statute. Most States have a State statute because Section 106 only covers Federal undertaking. So, if it’s just a State-funded licensed or permitted project, most States have a State statute that essentially reads the same. Section 106, because the regulations are the regulations, should be administered the same in every State. They’re not. I have many friends who work in SHPOs in other States, and I know for a fact they’re not implemented the same, because we’ve compared notes many times. State laws are always a little bit different...the biggest difference of why those laws are implemented differently has to do with the history of the preservation office in each State. There’s going to be certain people who are running the SHPO and at some point they’re going to have someone running office who gets funding for this and that - and they’re very proactive. And you’re going to have other States at certain times, people who just aren’t necessarily as proactive. They are more respondent to the governor’s office, upper-level management or whatever - and so each State takes a different path and it’s historical based on essentially over the past 30 years. So it has to do with personalities who are in key positions at key times, and politics over time. I think that’s what moulds the environment that each State Historic Preservation Office works to (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 5).

137 Archaeology unit (reviewer) of SHPO; Previously ran own consulting company in Pennsylvania

138 Protection of Historic Properties incorporating amendments effective 2004. See <http://www.achp.gov/regs-rev04.pdf>

Many of the interviewees who have or are working for SHPOs emphasised that it is very much down to individuals, and that it is made up of a ‘mix of people’, some who are ‘just going to be who they are and say this is the right thing to do’ while others are ‘going to be more willing to be flexible...and more willing to cut corners’ or ‘appease things’ (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 27; see also pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 20). One of the reviewers spoke of a time when reviewers had a very *laissez-faire* attitude, and that ‘whatever came in the door [got] “stamp stamp stamp”’ approvals. And so not only is it ‘difficult to reverse that trend’, but it is very frustrating and overwhelming for those few who work there (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

It is equally frustrating for archaeologists who comment on how the four SHPO reviewers have such different ways of approaching reports, with standards based on individual requirements rather than standardised agency requirements (e.g. pers. comm., Cox, 2013: 25; similar case with London curators seen in Section 5.2.1). There is also a huge amount of misunderstanding as to the actual power and authority of SHPO (also resonant to what we heard from contractors in London about EH/GLAAS; see Section 5.2.1.2): an advisory role is really about *soft* power and the ability to negotiate and form relationships, but the buck actually stops with the federal agency leading the project, as they are the ones who give the permit.

This yields confusion: many archaeologists look to SHPO as a power point of enforcement and authority. And of course SHPO officers get tremendous amounts of pressure being pulled from all sides, not least from archaeologists, who either complain that they are not doing enough to support the archaeology, or that they make unnecessary demands and waste both time and money in search of cultural resources that is just not there (e.g. pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 46-47; pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 10, 12). Consultant Carol Weed, on the other hand, argues that government bodies (such as SHPO or the LPC) should ‘have every right to come back and say: “Dig. Prove me wrong. Tell me why there isn’t anything significant here”’ (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 8; see also pers. comm. Rieth, 2013: 59). So we can see there is a slight pull or tension between responsibilities. CRM firms, for example, feel pressured by the demands of developers and do in some cases try to appease them, by which point the costly requirements from SHPO are obstacles. Carol Weed points out:

...the SHPO don’t really care (1) how much the project costs; (2) whether or not [the developers] meet their schedule or not. They’re interested in whether or not the archaeologist is doing a decent job with regard to the resources. So that becomes really a safeguard, because you’re being pulled in a lot of different directions in regard to the client, who’s telling you I want it done quick, fast, and cheaply versus the State Historic Preservation Office who’s sitting there going “guys, can we learn something from this project. Excuse me, but why are we doing this work?” (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 15)

The fact, however, is that there is no realistic capacity for four individuals to effectively or thoroughly overlook the entirety of New York State, which covers 141,300 km². This is just

simply impossible (see Section 7.3.1.1). Although there are mixed opinions about SHPO in terms of their judgement on archaeology (an issue that appears to come from tensions between management versus being out in the field), SHPO does have support from archaeologists. Survey results also confirm this (Figure 66).

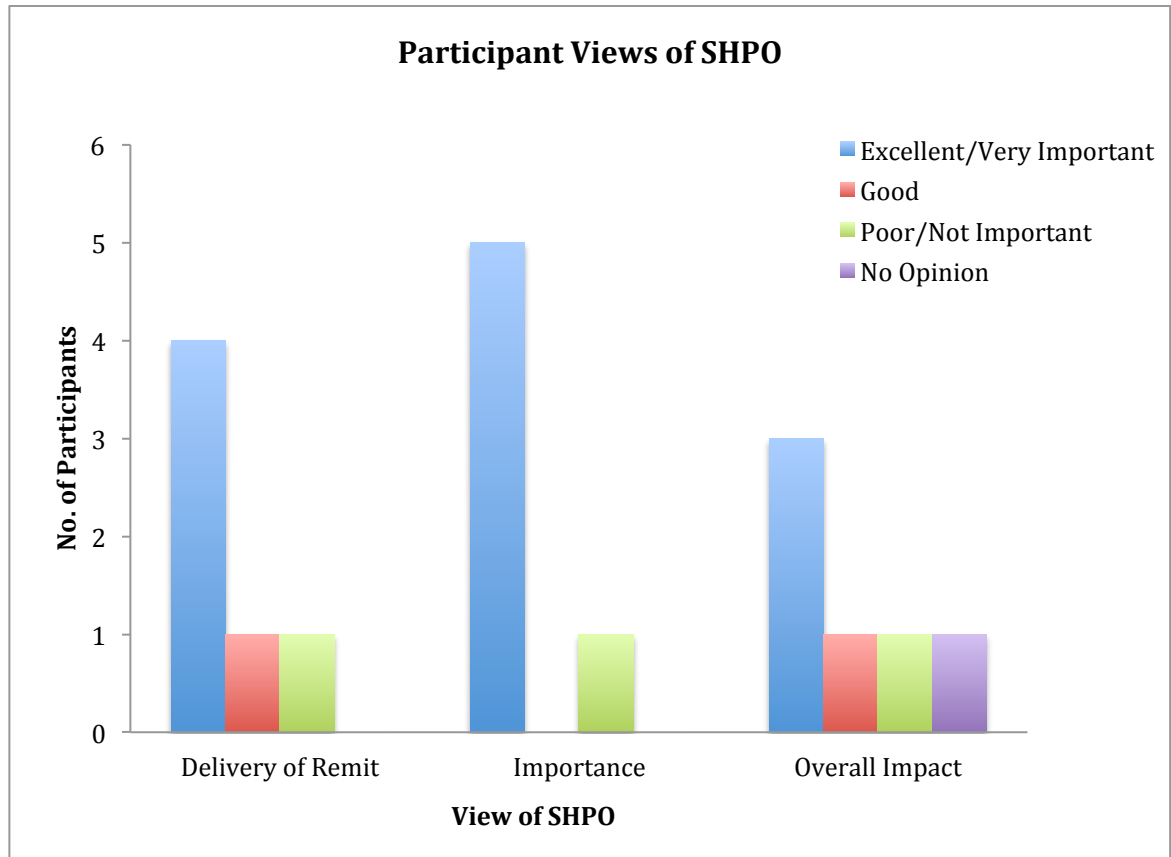


Figure 66 NYC Survey: View of SHPO in terms of delivery of remit, importance and overall impact.¹³⁹

7.2.1.1.1 The Watchdogs of SHPO

An interesting event which took place early on in 1975 was the actually suing of SHPO and federal agency Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), by the archaeologists themselves united under NYAC, for the violation of several federal laws, such as NEPA and the 1966 *Historic Preservation Act* (Rothschild, 1975: 2). NYAC had thought it necessary to take the above parties to court for failing to act and protect the archaeological resources for a proposed sewer construction project. SHPO had allowed EPA to fund projects with no archaeological consideration, furthermore bypassing any action or contact with the Advisory Council on Historic

¹³⁹ Results are not in percentage

Preservation, and ignoring the advice of NYAC. As Paul Huey¹⁴⁰ recalls, NYAC ‘had a lawsuit and sued the State a couple of times for not doing proper project review in archaeology; that was good and changed things...’ (pers. comm., Huey, 2013: 22).

Nina Versaggi,¹⁴¹ who was president of NYAC from 2005 to 2010, comments on the relationship between the SHPO and NYAC:

...it was when the new SHPO reviewers were flexing muscles and trying to make archaeologists do things that archaeologists didn’t think were best approaches for the resources...It was several years and we’re still in that battle a bit, but there’s now a working group composed of some representatives of SHPO reviewers and reps of NYAC...when the problems surface, we have a way to sit down and talk about them on behalf of archaeologists in the State. So there’s an attempt to be more cooperative. Since this working group has been instituted there’s been less conflict with reviewers... (pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 12)

Clearly, despite SHPO being set up solely to play a critical role in historic preservation, there remains strong reservations about the efficiency of their role. These reservations are related to personality clashes and also largely on how reviewers communicate, collaborate and work towards the safekeeping of the cultural resources. How it functions is largely based on individual attitudes and personalities.

7.2.1.2 Landmark Preservation Commission

LPC is the largest municipal preservation agency in the nation whose mission is to ‘protect the City’s architectural and historic resources through designation and regulation of individual landmarks, scenic landmarks, and historic districts’ (LPC Guidelines for Archaeology Work in NYC, 2002: 1). It is the city agency with archaeological expertise. The first city archaeologist, Sherene Baugher, was appointed in 1980 by LPC Chairman Kent Barwick (pers. comm., Dolkart, 2013: 1) after Stadt Huys demonstrated archaeology exists in NYC. It is consulted by other government agencies to help guide them through archaeological review required under Landmarks law, or the environmental review mandated by city, state, or federal laws.

LPC is very much about *landmarks*, and does not fight archaeological battles unless quite high level (pers. comm., Neville, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 24-25). LPC is not an archaeological organisation, nor is it supposed to be. So, in fact, there is not a city archaeologist, but a Landmark archaeologist, who acts as the city archaeologist (pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 15).

Amanda Sutphin is currently LPC’s archaeologist, a position which has a lot of centralised authority in terms of overseeing the city’s archaeology. She is seen by all of the archaeologists

140 State archaeologist from the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

141 Principal Investigator for NPS American Battlefield Protection Program Grants; Director of Public Archaeology Facility at State University of NY; Partner and PI of Compliance Survey Associates in Binghamton (1982-87) and other previous work from 1977 onwards

interviewed in NYC as a hub of information, and someone they contact to find out what is happening in the city. The LPC archaeologist is a key bridger and hub for NYC, connecting archaeologists with vital information and also suggesting contact between archaeologists. Survey results show participants view LPC in high regard (Figure 67).

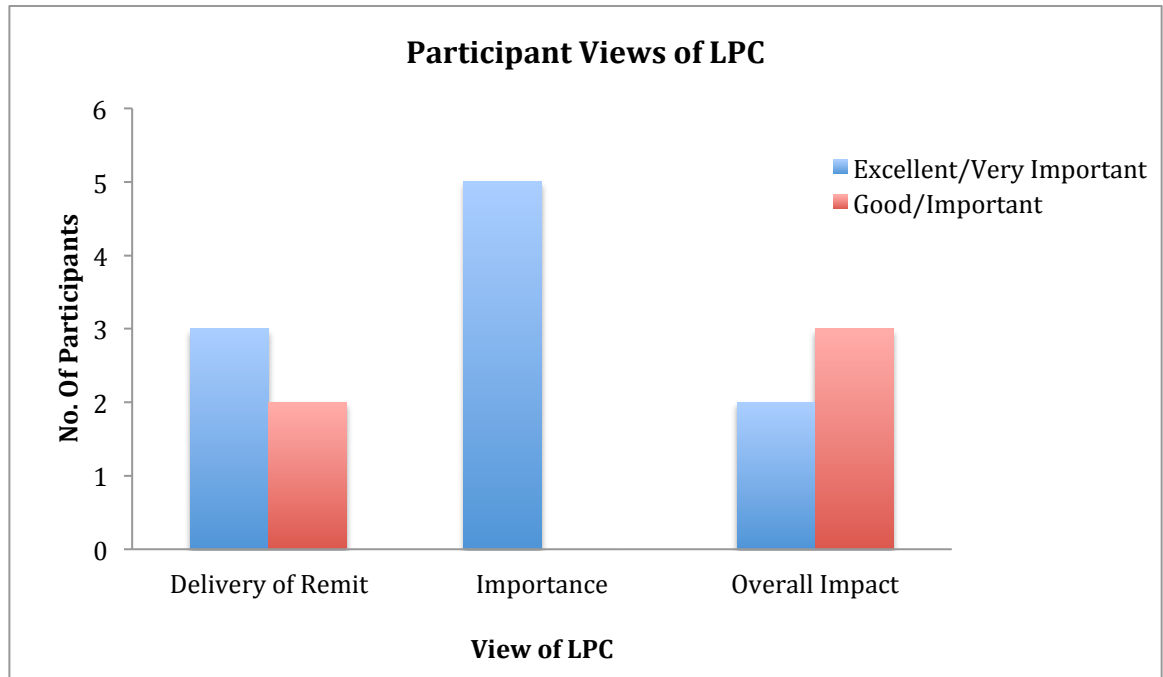


Figure 67 NYC Survey: How participants view LPC's delivery of remit, importance and overall impact. Note: results are not in percentage

Interviewees¹⁴² also see this position as invaluable although they simultaneously note that LPC's ruling body is politically appointed (e.g. pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 13; pers. comm., Rieth, 2013: 58; pers. comm., Barwick, 2013: 1): '...and when you're politically appointed, you follow the will of the person who appoints you...' (pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 4). Although LPC is responsible for upholding the law and protecting landmarks, preservationists and archaeologists notice that support is in waves based on the ruling parties in Congress, and more locally the city mayor. Figure 68 shows that 63% of interviewees feel different mayors make a huge difference in the support LPC gets (e.g. pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013: 12; pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 29; pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 19-20; pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 14-15; pers. comm., Wasserman, 2013: 26; more on external support in Section 7.3.1.1.1).

142 Keep in mind that in some cases observations/comments cannot be referenced as interviewees have edited and requested particular comments be deleted.

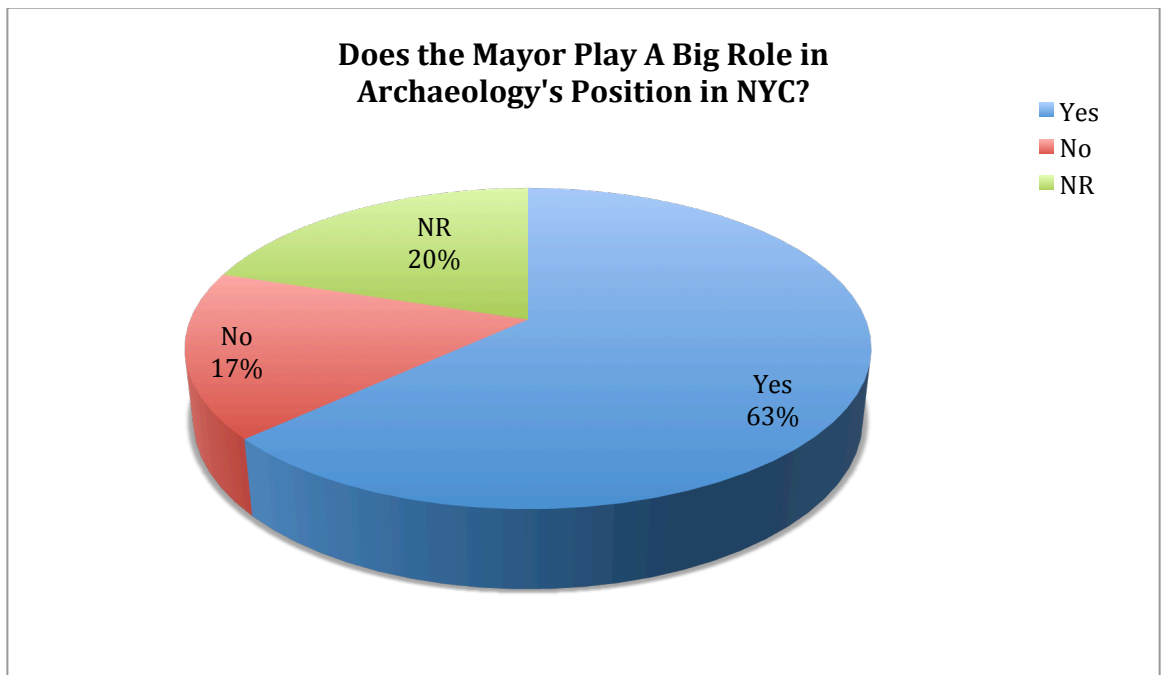


Figure 68 NYC Interviews: The role of the mayor

As Historic District Council (HDC) executive director Simeon Bankoff¹⁴³ comments:

...government is to some degree personality driven, policies are personally driven - people have different policies. So of course it's changed. Giuliani was ridiculously confrontational and had his own vision of the city. Mayor Bloomberg is fantastically aloof and has his vision of the city (pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013: 12).

Both Giuliani and Bloomberg are seen as very pro-development, pro- real-estate and pro-developers. They are happy to assist in weakening a lot of the compliance regulations that may obstruct development. Because of the politics of development, very often Landmarks has to pick and choose their battles, or on occasion has even advised archaeologists to do less archaeology (pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 13; 'picking and choosing' battles is discussed further in Section 7.3.3.3.2).

¹⁴³ Current executive director of HDC; also worked in the Historic House Trust and the NY Landmarks Preservation Foundation

7.2.1.2.1 The African Burial Ground



Figure 69 Newspaper clipping of African Burial Ground controversy

1990 and is a huge turning point for NYC archaeologists (Blakey, 1993). It hit the media as an extremely controversial issue (Figure 69).¹⁴⁴ Archaeologists there at the time say that the presence of a burial ground had been known through documentary evidence, but whether anything had been left by NYC's known exploitation of vertical space and deep foundations was the issue. Ed Rutsch from the agency firm Historic Conservation and Interpretation, a man described by everyone who knew him as 'larger than life', conducted the excavation. During the excavation, to the archaeologists' surprise they noticed little holes – wormholes: wormholes that could not be living 17 feet below demolition rubble and a parking lot. The excavation took place in dangerous and hostile conditions: archaeologists explain how sides of a building had poured down into an excavation area during demolition, potentially killing any team who would have been working there (e.g. pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 10-11); also interviews indicate being antagonised by

144 Legible copy of this clipping is found in Appendix 6

LPC has landmarked over 31,000 sites in the city, many within the 111 historic districts. It has also protected over a thousand individual landmarks, more than 100 interior landmarks and 10 scenic landmarks. However, although there are many *historic* districts, only the African Burial Ground (ABG) from the 1700s and the Commons Historic District are considered *archaeological* historic districts.

The African Burial Ground (ABG) excavation took place in

engineers (who later had confessed it was intentionally done to push archaeologists to react in an unprofessional manner and therefore throw them off-site). The archaeologists were accused of placing bones underground by the General Services Administration (GSA), the federal agency charged with constructing and managing government buildings (ibid). Perazio recalls, ‘all of a sudden it became obvious to everyone that this was an issue that was not going to go away...Dinkins¹⁴⁵ was mayor, so the idea of having an African Burial Ground in place was not something that could be pushed aside’ (pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 13).

The GSA just jettisoned any involvement [from Landmarks and the NPS] because it was only advisory... And went down the road themselves. Then Daniel [Pagano] takes photographs of them excavating burials, and the whole thing explodes (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 1).

Joan Geismar¹⁴⁶ (pers. comm., 2013: 17), who was president of PANYC at the time, mentions how the GSA ‘kept saying “take them out! take them out!” and that ‘the interaction between representatives of the federal government and representatives of the African American community in New York was often quite nasty...It went beyond the law: it was emotional, and it was stirring things up...And they were right, it should have stopped!’

The further symbolism of a *federal* building/*government* project destroying an African American burial ground resonated slavery-colonial dynamics. Pagano’s fierce involvement as part of LPC, and the huge amount of media coverage and street protests, opened up a lot of sensitive issues but also resulted in many successes. The burial ground was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1992, and subsequently designated in 1993 as a National Historic Landmark. There is an outdoor memorial and a visitor centre which opened in 2010. Despite these successes, inside the archaeological community it is known that ‘heads rolled’¹⁴⁷ and lessons were learnt (e.g. pers. comm. Rothschild, 2013: 14; pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 16). It is said that since, LPC has changed, becoming less confrontational, with staff re-positioned or ‘made sure not to work in the city again’ or ‘people...pushed out and made to leave’, comment NYC archaeologists confidentially. ‘It was not friendly’, says Geismar (pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 16). Another archaeologist warns, ‘if you’re going to make a stand, it’s going to be your last one’ (pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 11). Five interviewees, not to be named, mentioned that once they retire they plan to publish what really happened. Clearly this is still a very sensitive issue, and the huge amounts of data deleted from transcripts are testimony to this.

145 Dinkins was NYC mayor from 1990 to 1993, and was the first – and only – African American to hold office to date.

146 Archaeological consultant (has own firm); also founding member of PANYC; serves on the preservation committee for Municipal Art Society

147 Expression used by two separate individuals – requested to not be identified with comment

7.2.1.3 Federal Agencies

Federal agencies play a central role in archaeology, which is underestimated when exploring the regulatory bodies concerned with historic preservation. For example, federal agencies can be the developers, *while simultaneously being* the agency required by federal law to consider cultural resources *and* consequently grant the permit. At the end of the process, it is neither SHPO nor LPC that make the final decision, but actually the agency in charge of the project. Lynn Rakos¹⁴⁸ explains:

The laws are to some extent followed differently. It depends on the agencies. It depends on the SHPO...It depends on what's found. Some agencies are a lot more lax about doing the work, and if they're not necessarily caught things just go through (pers. comm., Rakos, 2013: 12).

Agencies are part of the government and are regulatory-oriented, but their primary role is to execute the job that they were set up to do, not preserve the historic environment. That job demands they consider environmental impact, but whether this is of primary concern depends on (a) the agency and their reputation with historic preservation and; (b) what the project at hand is. For example, the Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) are part of the government's executive Department of Defence. They are one of the largest public engineering, design and construction management agencies, with a mission to deliver works related to water projects, such as building or protecting the shoreline, operating locks and dams, and addressing natural water-related risks such as flooding. Although they employ a large number of archaeologists – or contract them in – their primary concern is not archaeology, but defence. Other agencies, such as the National Park Service (NPS), falls under the Department of the Interior; the Forest Service falls under the Department of Agriculture; there are also independent agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (See Figure 70).

148 Currently employed by USACE

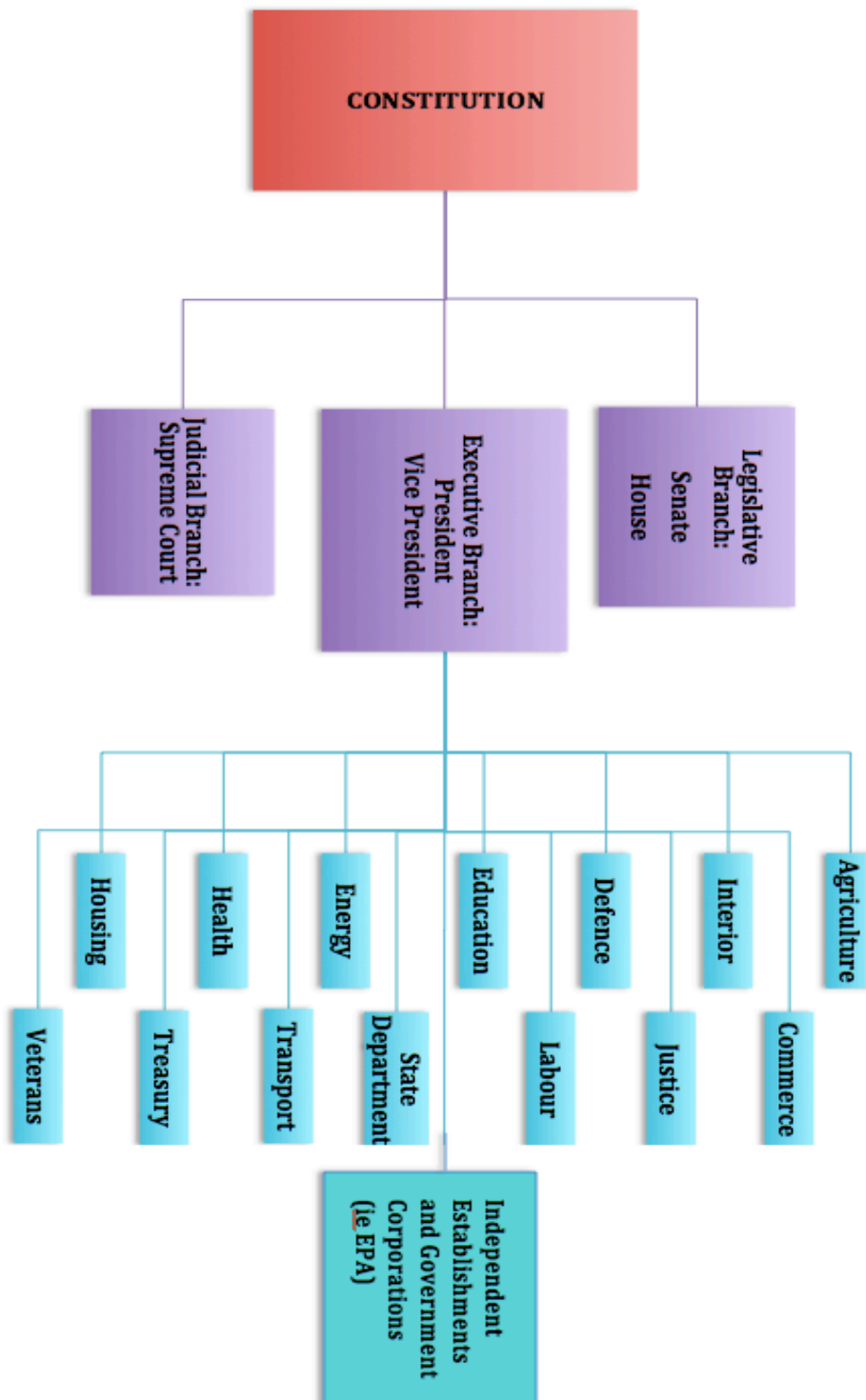


Figure 70 The structure of the US government system

In short, there are hundreds of agencies responsible for executing various tasks on behalf of the federal government, and they all must go through the process of considering adverse impacts on cultural resources and the environment either through contracting private consultants, archaeology firms (in which they generally have a policy to employ the lowest bidder) or through undertaking the task by their own in-house archaeologists. Ultimately, they internally have their own in-house reviews, which some may say is the ‘fox watching the hen house’ (pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 19). Some interview participants touched on whether self-regulation is a concern (see Figure 71; also see Section 7.2.1.1.1).

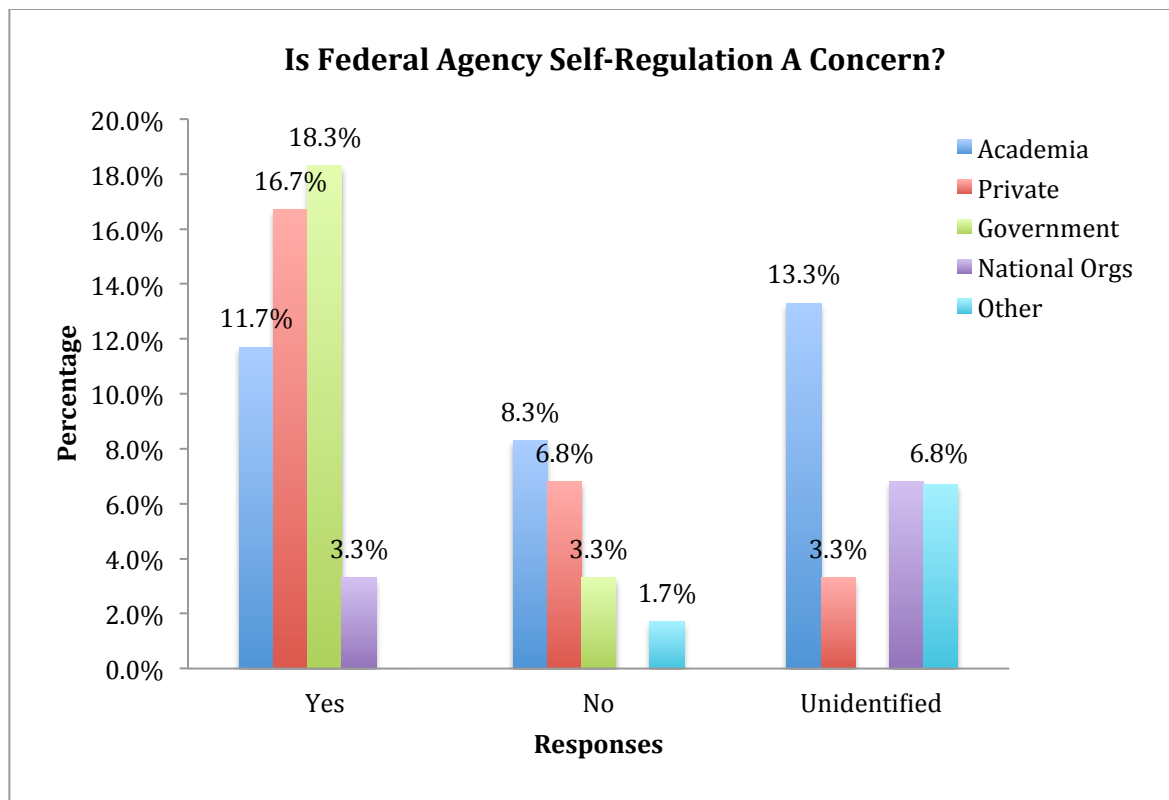


Figure 71 NYC Interviews: Is self-regulation an issue in federal agencies?

What we can see, interestingly, is that it is mostly federal or state archaeologists that feel it is a concern, followed by those involved in the private sector. This is because they are directly involved with the process: government archaeologists realise that archaeology is not given the justice it is due in some circumstances, and private archaeologists are frustrated at agencies choosing the lowest bidder. Unlike London, we see that there is a significant amount of academics who have an opinion in the matter. This is mainly because despite shrinking educational institutions, there remains a core group of academics who have a vested interest in development-led archaeology.

7.2.2 The Professional Bodies

7.2.2.1 New York Archaeological Council

As discussed earlier in Section 1.4.2, professional bodies have a role in that they ideally aim to raise standards and provide work ethics for the profession. The New York Archaeological Council (NYAC) is not NYC-specific, but covers all of New York State. During the 90s, NYAC developed the standards currently in use, which the SHPO took on as its standards. Interviews reveal that NYAC did not come up in topic that much, not even in discussion about standards: only 11 participants mentioned NYAC (pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 6-8; pers. comm., Huey, 2013: 14, 16, 22, 25; pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 8, 10, 40-41, 51-52, 101; pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 24; pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 19; pers. comm., Rieth, 2013: 56, 62; pers. comm. Rothschild, 2013: 11; pers. comm., Stone, L., 2013: 11; pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 11-14, 20). Although there is insufficient data from the survey, the responses from the five participants are revealing (Figure 72): despite the low numbers, in comparison with survey results for SHPO and LPC (Figure 66 and Figure 67), we can see that NYAC does not resonate as strongly in NYC.

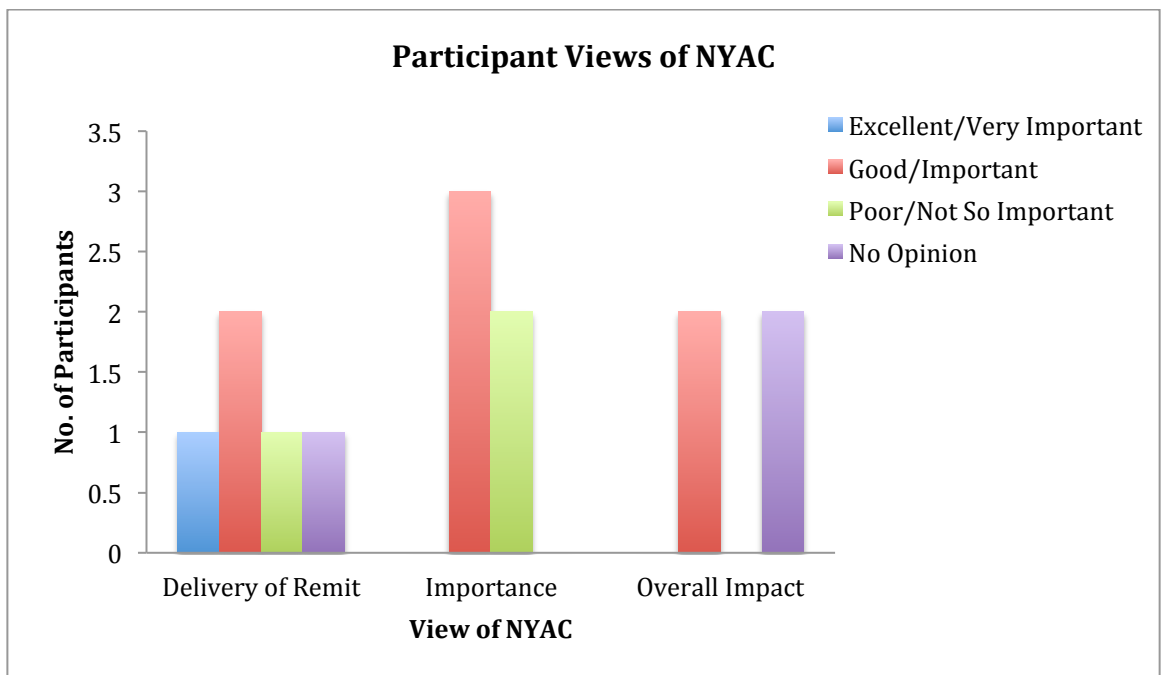


Figure 72 NYC Survey: View of NYAC according to their delivery of remit, importance and overall impact.¹⁴⁹

However, NYAC does seem to play quite a significant role, as demonstrated in Section 7.2.1.1.1: they watch over the SHPO and other federal agencies, and also are part of the consultation process

¹⁴⁹ Note: results are not in percentage

for law and in Congress. As mentioned earlier, there is now a working group of SHPO and NYAC representatives in an effort to create a ‘level playing field for everybody’ in terms of standards and SHPO requirements from archaeologists, and to make sure professionals in the field have a role in the direction the state drives archaeology (pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 12). On this level, it is surprising that there is not more involvement from NYC, perhaps partially to do with NYC viewing itself as separate from the state.

7.2.2.2 The Professional Archaeologists of New York City, Inc.

PANYC is, as the name suggest, the professional organisation for archaeologists in NYC. Interestingly, I did not notice any strong or significant ties between the NYAC and PANYC. There are two NYC archaeologists, Joan Geismar and Linda Stone,¹⁵⁰ however, who are officers at NYAC. In attending a PANYC meeting, I observed they are the bridgers that take back information from NYAC to PANYC members.

PANYC is unique to NYC: no other city has their own professional organisation. They do not

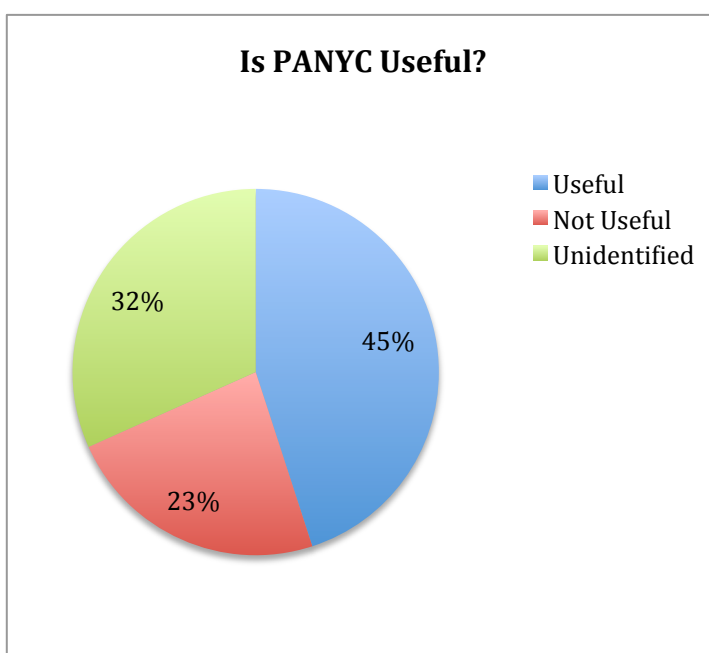


Figure 73 NYC Interview: Views on PANYC's usefulness

have an office, but instead hold meetings in St. Marks historic landmark building – which is also resident of the Historic District Council (HDC), Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, St. Marks Historic Landmark Fund, and the Neighbourhood Preservation Center. PANYC is a group of 10 to 15 individuals, many who have known each other for several years – either through being at university together, working on projects or having the same mentors. Interviews showed that a good

proportion of participants felt that PANYC is useful, most notably for networking (Figure 73). Those that did not find it useful mentioned that the meetings gathered the same group of individuals who did not do much to press important issues such as wage or work conditions, or only were active in letter writing campaigns. My observation is that the younger generation (under 50) feel more strongly about PANYC's need to progress. This divide in views and values

¹⁵⁰ Independent archaeological consultant of established in 1992; has own firm

based on generation is discussed in Section 7.3.2.

PANYC was always very collegial, with a lot of ‘people who worked together, who knew each other, were at school with each other or at least were willing to share information readily and meet up after working on site or whatever’ (pers. comm., Rakos: 2013: 3). It was set up with a purpose to network and interact (pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 6), and also with a goal ‘really to deal with public agencies, and the general public, and explain to them what archaeology was and what it could do because they didn’t know’ (pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 14).

While the existence of PANYC is quite important in that many of the main archaeologists – including academics – get together and sit to discuss concerns and issues, the setting is equally seen as resistant to change, stagnant and ineffective (e.g. pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 11¹⁵¹; Saunders, 2013: 11-12; pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 27).¹⁵² They are ‘resistant to change’, ‘insular’ and shoot down anyone trying to shake things up, say CRM archaeologists confidentially. One of the former individuals involved in PANYC describes it as dying if nothing is done about it:

There’ll be many things PANYC feel they should not comment on...I think individually people have an idea about what they think PANYC does. But the reality - and people are happy to disagree with me - is that PANYC is stagnant. It’s a dying membership. I blatantly said that, and probably did not make any fans that day, at the meeting that PANYC is a dying organisation if we don’t do something, and that it won’t be here in ten years. It’ll be gone. There was silence, no one had anything to say. Even though there were murmurs of “yes you’re right”, it completely went out the window (pers. comm., anon, 2013).

Other archaeologists comment along similar lines of its inertia saying:

In the last 30 years, it’s the same people, the same conversations, and the same small petty letters written back and forth. And I’m sorry, I’m just not going to waste my time. I read the minutes, and I do keep up with the membership... (pers. comm., anon., 2013)

NYC already being a small circle of archaeologists, and with PANYC only accepting members with a Masters, means that it lacks attracting new innovative ideas that younger archaeologists may think of as important concerns or areas to address. Equally, because they are not linked tightly with other organisations in the state or larger northeast region, they cannot be as effective and powerful as perhaps they should be. The quotes above and below – both taken from interviews – are indicative that the sense of failing to make a larger contribution or have any effect is impacting the role of PANYC.

¹⁵¹ Archaeological Consultant of Chrysalis Archaeology; has own firm

¹⁵² It should be noted that the references here are those that are happy to go on record; however many other participants voiced very similar views, but removed it from the record.

There is a professional organisation called PANYC - it's not particularly effective and it's pretty much the same people. In fact, not everybody who works in the field shows up at those meetings. It's always the same ten or twelve people. They sort of circulate the presidency and the board between the same ten or twelve people year after year and decade after decade (pers. comm., anon., 2013)

In some sense PANYC is more of an advocacy organisation than a professional organisation, in that they do not touch on any areas that might improve conditions, work standards or pay for archaeologists; nor do they get involved with law and legislation. Schuldenrein¹⁵³ describes them as a 'watchdog agency':

...it's a loose confederation of people who are interested. It hasn't really done much in 20 years. It really hasn't. They can tell you that it has, it hasn't. It's a good group of people, they're very nice, they do have the welfare of the city's archaeological resources in mind, but they don't have a lot of power. They're an oversight agency that doesn't have to be considered. They can be. If somebody really wants to go out of their way to consider cultural resources, they can consult PANYC, but does it have any teeth? No. No teeth. They write letters. Is it a good group? Yes. They're very nice people. Very good. Very knowledgeable. Most of them are contractors who work here. Are they insular? Yes. They're very insular. It's like that everywhere.... (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 18)

7.2.2.3 The Register of Professional Archaeologists

The RPA is interesting in that it is not so much an organisation, but rather a registry of individuals who have the necessary academic qualifications (a graduate degree in archaeology, anthropology, art history, classics, history, or other relevant degrees) to sign up to and abide by a set of standards and code of conduct. In this sense, 'they have some minimum standard in terms of education, but not in terms of professionalism' (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 4). It is a voluntary act that puts the individual responsible for their own professional behaviour, in hope that their good will benefits the wider discipline. While the survey responses indicate the RPA is viewed highly, the interview analysis shows a split divide in opinion (Figure 74). The issue that it encounters is one of enforcement, very similar to the London's IfA issues.

¹⁵³ Director of Geoarchaeology Research Associates

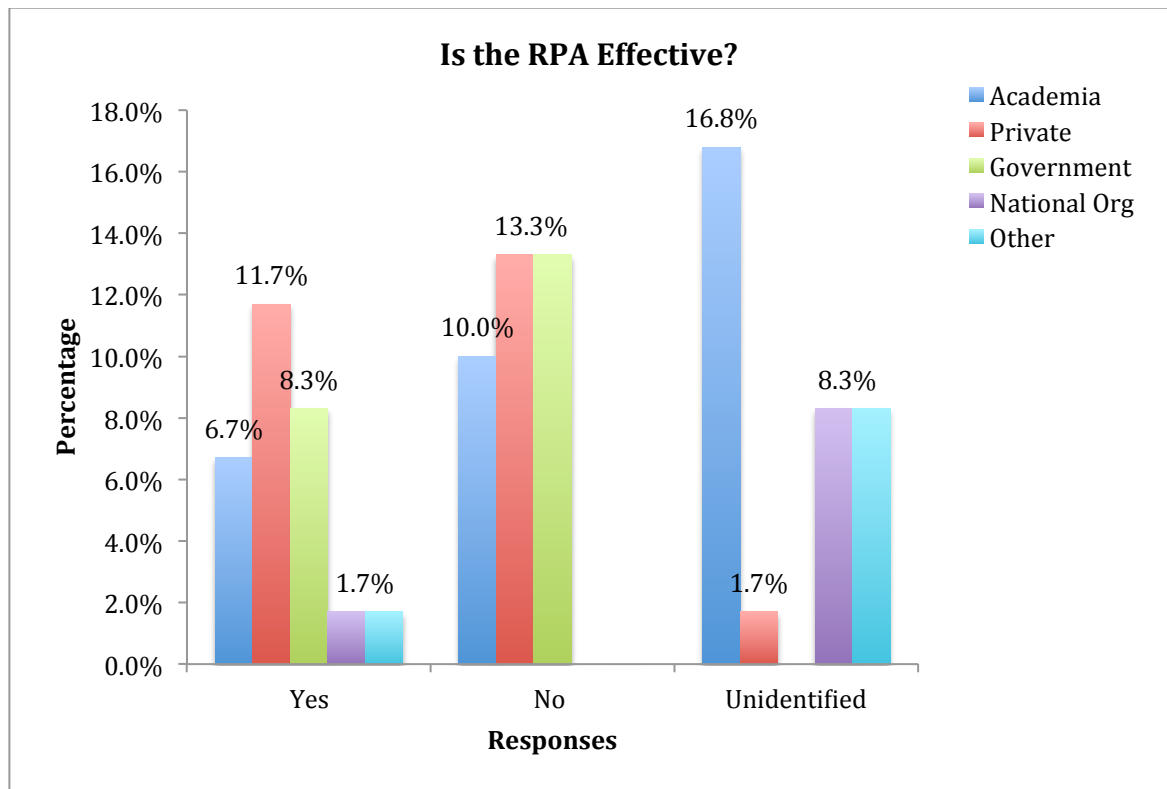


Figure 74 NYC Interviews: Results on whether participants feel the RPA is effective

Practicing archaeologists think that it is ‘ineffectual’, where there are ‘people griping and complaining about this firm and that firm, but nobody stands up’ (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 7). The problem is that ‘no one has ever been called out’ because ‘no one wants to be the one to point the finger’ (pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 10). At the same time, both SHPO and LPC do not enforce any violations of standards by removing archaeologists from the CRM list which they have, because that suggests endorsement (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 20). My observations – in both NYC and London – is that archaeologists feel betrayed, knowing that there are known people who should not be allowed to practise archaeology, yet they continue to damage the profession through malpractice. Equally, that these bodies and registries set up to enforce professional standards, do little to actually enforce it.

Another issue is that there is no way to prove that *intentional malpractice*:

...the burden of proof is very high...and it's hard to say after the fact that somebody didn't do something they should have done, because now you're second-guessing that person in the field (pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 39).

It is extremely difficult to prove that something wrong occurred, and ‘under what circumstances do you say something is so egregious that [the archaeologist is] never allowed to do archaeology again?...there are lots of situations that are grey areas’ (pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 32). There

were also a few mentions of the RPA or complainants potentially getting sued, so clearly this is a fear lurking out there (e.g. pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 10; pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 19), although this is not the case and individuals are protected from this (pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 36).

Professional bodies play a large role in pushing professions forward (Section 1.4.2). It is compelling to find they face similar challenges and obstacles in both cities. The role and authority of professional bodies is discussed later in Section 7.3.2.3

7.2.3 *Academia*

7.2.3.1 The Importance of Academia

NYC archaeology in academia is close to a by-gone legacy of the 1970s and 1980s. A lot of the first CRM archaeologists were academics from the anthropology departments, predominantly from New York University (NYU) under Bert Salwen. NYU at the time had a diverse anthropology department, and interviewees close to Salwen mention that the Chair at the time, British professor John Middleton, had been eager to recruit people that would not only go into academia but into applied anthropology, foreseeing the stagnant growth in academia (pers. comm. anon., 2013). Middleton and another physical anthropologist recruited various people, one being Salwen from Columbia University. The community of archaeologists built in NYU is said to have reached out to everyone – Queens, Rutgers, Long Island, and Columbia – ‘it was not an exclusive club at all’ (pers. comm. anon., 2013).

Bert Salwen (1920-1988) is mentioned by everyone interviewed as the ‘father’ of urban archaeology and a pioneer in the new archaeological field. He encouraged his students to look at the CRM projects happening at the time, and many produced a number of Master’s theses and PhD dissertations through his mentoring. He is known to have had meticulous fieldwork methods and pushed for technical excellence and quality. He had started as an amateur archaeologist, after leaving aircraft and machine engineering, which may be why he believed in the essentiality of field training (Rothschild, 1990). As Head of Urban Anthropology at NYU from 1966, he left a handful of students or those he influenced who still work in the field. Unfortunately, after his death, NYU did not continue the legacy he left behind, and the archaeology programme shrunk (pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 55-56).

In fact, many archaeology departments in universities are shrinking. While there are a few elderly and retiring individuals – most notably Nan Rothschild in Columbia and Diana Wall in Hunter – the consensus is that universities are simply not replacing individuals directly involved with NY archaeology. Although there are no *archaeological* programmes running in the city which are properly integrated and plugged in to the city, there are anthropology courses. In the US,

anthropology is the department through which archaeology is predominantly run. Cultural resource management is a relatively new degree, which has brought up a ‘whole different mindset to that of 20 or 30 years ago’ (pers. comm., Cox, 2013: 7), and is quite different to the traditional path of archaeology as part of the four-field programme of linguistics, physical anthropology, social or cultural anthropology, and archaeology.

Through the anthropological departments, there are only a handful of scholars who have some connection with NYC’s archaeology and have various field schools or project involvements in the boroughs. Interviews support that universities are not really involved in archaeology anymore (e.g. pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 17; pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 12, 23, 3; 3; pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 4; pers. comm., Crabtree, 2013: 10; pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 55). They also support that it is the individuals, rather than the institutions themselves, that make strong links with other sectors and create a stronger archaeological presence in the institutions (these individuals include Nan Rothschild, Diana Wall, Arthur Bankoff, Anne-Marie Cantwell, Arnold Pickman and Allan Gilbert).¹⁵⁴ The concern is after these few retire, what that would mean for the future of departments in universities and whether anyone *local* would replace them (e.g. pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 9). Although during the three months of my research I did not manage to infiltrate the network of younger archaeologist, neither by interview nor survey, it seems quite unlikely that they simply do not exist.¹⁵⁵ From two younger participants of the interview, I was assured that there is a younger generation of archaeologists focusing on NYC, many of them students and connected in some manner (i.e. as supervisor) to the academics mentioned above (see Section 7.3.1.4; also see e.g. pers. comm. Sanger, 2013: 4-11; pers. comm., Yamin, 2013: 11).

From interviews, results show that 80% of participants feel that academia is important, although 56.7% feel that there are still tensions between academia and other sectors (Figure 75). These tensions have a historical base, from when CRM began to take a prominent role in archaeology, and no jobs in academia left archaeologists moving into CRM (e.g. pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 9; pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 59-60).

154 All named are prominent and reputable individuals in NYC archaeology. All have been interviewed for this research except Arthur Bankoff and Arnold Pickman, due to their unavailability.

155 On the contrary, at the beginning of my London research, London young archaeologists – or particular names – were immediately brought to my attention. Younger archaeologists in London have a higher visibility through their active involvement with, for example, the London CBA group, the TDP, or seeing their projects/blogs through social media (i.e. Facebook group sites for the IfA, RESCUE, BAJR, twitter, etc).

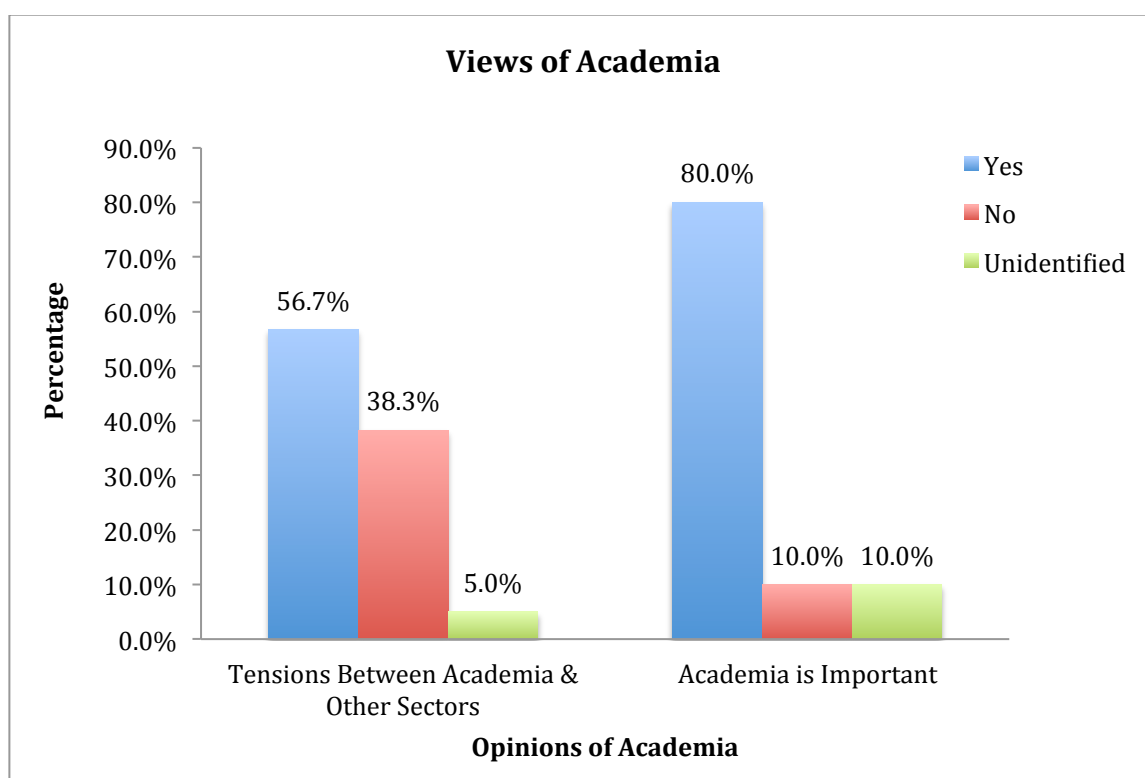


Figure 75 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on academia and sector tensions

Joel Klein¹⁵⁶ recalls how at first ‘if you were in CRM, you were really looked down upon by academia’, but now that CRM is becoming a ‘viable career path’, that has gotten considerably better (pers. comm., 2013: 20). Some suggest that the ‘stigma’ is still there and is noticeable in conferences, mostly from museums or academia because they consider themselves ‘educational institutions’ as opposed to profit-driven (e.g. pers. comm., Britt, 2013: 17). In truth, academia is increasingly becoming more of a business itself; academia is an industry too, and for ‘academics...to be in this ivory tower thinking they’re somehow separate from this whole capitalist venture is kind of ridiculous (pers. comm., Britt, 2013: 49; pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 4).

This merge, in effect, means that ‘the CRM world is getting closer to academics’, says Sanger:¹⁵⁷

...that’s something we’re seeing now...you see people getting hired specifically because they have CRM experience...ten years ago that would have disqualified you...you had to choose one path or the other and there was no going back (pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 5).

My observations are that it is mostly the CRM archaeologists who see the pretentious attitudes of

¹⁵⁶ Now retired; during time of interview Associate Director of John Milner Associates, large firm specialising in historic preservation and cultural resource services

¹⁵⁷ Senior researcher and spatial analyst at the American Museum of Natural History

academics as unjustified and undeserved; academics, on the other hand, suggest that CRM does not focus on the bigger picture but very much value and recognise the vast data brought in by CRM (see Section 7.3.1).

7.2.3.2 The Insular World Of Academia

Most individuals involved in archaeology are aware that there is a separation between academics and development-led archaeology, which is caused by a range of factors such as interests, time, funding sources, methods and self-perceptions of role and responsibility.

The point, here, is not to provide a list of criticisms from each side, but rather to look at the core of these issues and see how best to reconcile. Doug Mackey (pers. comm., 2013: 5) points out that the best model is when academia and CRM work together and ‘feed each other’. The two main issues are the degree to which each *tap into* the information, knowledge and resources of the other; and more crucially, the practicality of what each has to offer.

My observations are that there are in fact a number of academic individuals in NYC who do have linkages – whether only one or more – with the CRM world. This link can be sending students to intern, or attending the PANYC private or public meetings. However, the real concern is the engaging beyond this level at a more formal and institutional level. All academics that were interviewed are supportive of CRM, and ideally would like to be more involved. Severin Fowles¹⁵⁸ comments about motivation, using a particular project as an example:

...we would be interested in being much more involved with the local archaeologists practicing archaeology within New York, but to be honest...[it would] tend to be quite small projects...[We] never got around to doing [it] because we all work in different parts of the world, and we’re trying to get tenure...so for a variety of reasons, the spirit was there, but the actual time...we got to the point of meeting and talking, but nothing was acted on because we all had other commitments...I work out West...I couldn’t take time away to start something here...that was true of everybody - we were all preoccupied...I think we’d all still like to be involved...I think that the practice of archaeology in the city is something that many of us would love to see present in Columbia [University], faculty or students being involved in projects...(pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 1-2)

Academics interviewed support and promote the work coming out by CRM firms, and recognise the wealth of information that it supplies. This is most likely because NYC is quite small, and the bridge between contract and academia is not as separated as London due to key individuals who began contract in NYC still being both active and involved in both worlds (pers. comm., Matthews, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 10; pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 3); but also because the circle of archaeologists is so much smaller in comparison to London (see Figure 16). Despite these networks, interaction continues to be rare. Asked about the relationship between

158 Assistant Professor at Columbia; Director of Archaeology Track in Anthropology; Interim Director of American Studies Program at Barnard College

academia and CRM, a NYC contractor comments confidentially:

absolutely none! Zero! Beyond zero! NYU has nothing to do with archaeology; Columbia really doesn't really have anything to do with archaeology - Nan Rothschild is still there as a Professor Emeritus and she'll do exhibits every now and then but she's not teaching anymore; Diana Wall has her one class she does up at City College; Allan Gilbert works at Fordham, doesn't do anything with New York City archaeology; and, Arthur Bankoff at Brooklyn, he still runs a local field school, but Arthur's on the down-slope of doing those things because he's getting up there in age. So there's no academics doing New York City research and archaeology anymore. The academics don't seem to think that we should be producing students who have an interest in New York City archaeology, because it's not their interest. So they're not thinking long-term (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

Beyond academics actually having an outward relationship with other sectors involved in NYC archaeology, internally their reputation is just as competitive as the CRM sector. They are seen as possessive and secretive in terms of sharing or speaking about their work (e.g. pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 18; pers. comm., Stone, G, 2013). A lot of this has to do with concepts of reputation and earning status discussed in Section 2.2, as well as the pressures now set on academics by institutions. In addition, Sanger points out:

On top of that, there's a class thing, where you have very wealthy private institutions - Columbia, NYU, and all those high-class institutions – which are particularly bad in understanding the changing world in archaeology within the States. So it's generational and class...Most going into the upper class schools are...the crème de la crème that look down on anything non-academic...(pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 9)

My observation is that the general view is universities are full of 'political nonsense',¹⁵⁹ and that academics are pressured to do extra administrative work and pushed to publish in high-visibility specialised journals rather than more public, synthetic and approachable publications. Pam Crabtree¹⁶⁰ points out:

[There is a] very capitalist contest between universities, the ranking leading to how much money you get from state/federal/governmental institutions, which pushes fast publication. I think some of the differences, some of the hallmark texts of things written in the 50s and 60s... nobody could write [those kind of publications] today because nobody would be given the time to do it. Instead we want a ten page article in a high-visibility journal because that gives our university points. Everything from the way we evaluate salaries is based on this...“What's the visibility score of that journal versus [that journal]?” So it's kind of a corporatisation of the academy...(pers. comm., Crabtree, 2013: 31)

¹⁵⁹ Term used in casual conversation by 3 separate interviewees; later removed in transcripts

¹⁶⁰ Faculty of NYU; Zooarchaeologist

7.2.3.3 Training Archaeologists for NYC

To qualify for the RPA, the applicant needs to have a graduate degree in a subject relevant to archaeology: this demonstrates that there is still an official strong link between academia and CRM archaeology. In NYC many of the key elder and prominent individuals recognised in the professional world are each affiliated with academic institutions: Nan Rothschild with Columbia; Diana Wall with Hunter; Allan Gilbert with Fordham; and Arthur Bankoff with Brooklyn College for example. NYU used to be at the centre of NYC archaeology as mentioned earlier, but since the 1980s it has increasingly pulled away (see pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 55). That said, NYU does have an Anthropology department with senior staff who do have links with CRM firms (e.g. Pam Crabtree, interviewed for this study).¹⁶¹ As we saw in London (Section 5.2.4), we could argue academia is about encouraging and developing an understanding of the theoretical framework of archaeology, and not solely to produce employees or shovelbums for CRM.¹⁶² As former Brooklyn College student, now CRM contractor, Alyssa Loorya comments:

As an undergrad I had very supportive professors at Brooklyn College. Very encouraging. They encouraged me to be a free-thinker, to challenge the norm, and were very verbal about that support and what they thought, and encouraging me to go forward in archaeology (pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 2).

At the same time, another view brought forward confidentially comments on the lack of support:

...I haven't had the best experience with academia. I've had a bitter after-taste left in my mouth by the state of academia. In some sense in general, but particularly academia in New York City. I think that there was never or not a lot of support for the academic community within New York if you're doing New York City archaeology. So I was at CUNY grad centre, and unless you do a specific programme, you really don't get any support. Not even from the other NYC archaeologists. And there really is nobody actively doing New York City archaeology other than Arthur [Bankoff]...but he's active in his own realm. He's not active with the larger archaeological community. So, there's this great disconnect. There were one or two other people who were doing New York City when I first went in, but there was no real community in the school unless you were doing Native work. So no one who wanted to do historical archaeology got support. In any sense. Whether it be financial, telling you what you needed to do, what you didn't need to do. And every time I thought I was getting some support, it would get pulled out from under the rug...To help me out they assigned me to work with one of the professors...Wonderful. Great. But he would never respond to anything you wrote. He just dropped off the face of the planet and left you hanging. So it's a lot of experiences like that. I'm not the only person to experience that, there's a lot of people. They say you have to know how to work independently...but there still comes a point in your work where you need someone to guide you. And give you an accurate answer as opposed to giving you an answer that sets you up to fail. In that respect, that's sort of been the bitter taste (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

¹⁶¹ One of the NYU archaeologist faculty requested to be withdrawn from this study

¹⁶² That said, US higher education costs substantially more than the UK (prior to the introduction of a fee increase to £9,000 in 2012): to not have the security or training to graduate as an attractive candidate may weigh far more on individuals who base their decisions to attend university on exactly that.

The tension of academia and training is related to support rather than simply providing courses. In addition, rising university fees, grim career prospects, and lack of overall external support (see Section 7.3.1) have made students feel they are unprepared for the outside world, and forced to accept unpaid posts or low-level positions because they are not experienced enough after a degree (see Johnson, 2014; see #freearchaeology)

A zooarchaeologist NYU researcher comments:

What's nice about New York [is] there are chances to get involved in CRM. But in NYU, they're primarily training you to be an academic more than CRM - so you get more theory courses. But right now the job market is so awful that a lot of us are taking more method courses with other schools in the area, just to broaden our skills so we can market ourselves (pers. comm., Garrett, 2013: 2).

It is not news that archaeologists coming out of academia feel that they are unprepared for the job market or even searching for post-doctorates and other career progressing opportunities. Equally, different universities offer different opportunities and programmes:

I think archaeologists are trained very differently. There are people for example, who work in New York or somewhere else in the US, who have advanced degrees in anthropology. Others have advanced degrees in archaeology, which is not the same thing....there are other people who get degrees in historical archaeology and that came about because many people felt the historical record was being ignored...So people have very different trainings. So I can talk to somebody who's very smart, very well trained, very well educated, who might not know what the middle-Archaic is...and they could talk to me and mention something I don't know (pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 12).

Of course academic programmes differ, but what is critical is creating and maintaining relationships with different parts of the sector, something which happens through developing networks. Weed says she feels the 'majority of the archaeologists' she knows 'actively try to engage their counterparts in terms of academic programmes', and that generally the real 'hurdle' is based on a mismatch between the CRM and academic calendar cycle, and requirements of dissemination (pers. comm., 2013: 7). The fact is that academic archaeologists need to push beyond the realms and limitations of academia, and begin building formal and institutionalised relationships so that they can be part of the network of archaeologists, as well as network of academics. This bridge will be significantly beneficial for progress and development for both the wider academic interdisciplinary programmes, as well as the archaeological profession (Figure 76).



Figure 76 Potential role of academic archaeologist in bridging academia with professional environment

7.2.4 *Private*

Archaeology under private contract is called Cultural Resource Management in the States. Unlike London, the vocation did not grow out of those involved in state archaeology, but was triggered largely by federal requirements (see Section 6.2.3) and grew out of academia.

Before contract archaeology, before developers, there was no archaeology in New York...professional archaeologists in universities and museums didn't work here. Careers were made elsewhere. Before that, there were certainly archaeologists who worked and taught in New York. But careers were made elsewhere. So archaeology was really in the hands of avocationals who were dedicated to saving the past. A lot of the archaeological record was lost because there was no voice for archaeology at all. All of that changed with the Stadt Huys...It's because of contract archaeology that [archaeology] has any value. It didn't exist before...that's what there is. It did not exist, period (pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 24).

Nan Rothschild¹⁶³ points out 'CRM is a mode of archaeological orientation, urban archaeology is a subject' (pers. comm., 2013: 5): the focus of looking at urban archaeology merely changed perspective. But this change meant that there is often not 'enough time to do real research' (ibid). She continues:

¹⁶³ Professor of Anthropology at Columbia; student of Bert Salwen and one of the key individuals of NYC archaeology

...have you ever done CRM? When you do CRM you are always writing a proposal for a project, hoping you'll get one, but not *all* the proposals you've written: you can't do them all. Then you have to organise the project, then you have to write it up. At the same time you have to move onto the next project. So it doesn't allow you a lot of time for reflection, or for contact with other people. So people who are really in CRM, I think are more isolated. Unless they're in a big company, you get more access to resources and that's getting harder because of the economy - to have the resources to allow people to do research (pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 5).

The CRM firms in NYC initially came out of academics who were trying to cater for the introduction of federal/state law (see Sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4). Salvage archaeology, in that sense, was forced into a market-driven business – which is still ‘salvage archaeology’ in reality, but now does not have time to address the critical question or the theoretical perspective (pers. comm. Ricciardi, 2013: 5). It is more about time restrictions, costs and adhering to the law.¹⁶⁴

The NYC setting is that there are a few big companies which deal with cultural resources, such as John Milner Associates, Louis Berger Group, and AKRF; the majority of CRM archaeologists, however, are **mom and pops** – small CRM firms usually with a very small team made up permanently of one or two people. Schuldenrein postulates, ‘my guess is that about 85% of the work gets done by 6 to 10 people at most’ (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 16), many who have been around for decades. As required, all of them either are masters or PhD graduates, and many of them regularly show up to the PANYC meetings, which points to a high level of collegiality among them. On the flip side, there are the larger engineering firms that realise the benefit and money in creating their own archaeological team, and they do win tender on a lot of the larger projects, so have taken over many archaeology companies that could not stay afloat (pers. comm. Morin, 2013: 3). What this means is that the organisational landscape at present in NYC, which is dominated by small local and independent archaeological firms, may well change in the coming few years to be dominated by larger engineering companies.

7.2.4.1 Winning Contracts and Dropping Prices

Although NYC is large in size, my observation is that CRM archaeologists feel there is not much archaeology left to do, and that it is increasingly difficult to make a living out of it with the opportunities spread much more thinly (e.g. pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 24; pers. comm., Stone, 2013: 15).

It is very difficult to be involved in CRM in NYC: I observed that archaeologists were much more empathetic to the political climate, the lack of support, and the struggles of their colleagues than

164 It should be clarified that while Salvage/Rescue archaeology may not have had a strong approach to research and synthetic analysis, they were very much aiming at ‘rescuing’; current development-led archaeology has similarities to Salvage in that it, too, is rescuing archaeology. The point is that the process, now embedded formally within planning and legislation, should officially have a role that is beyond mere rescue, an opportunity that Salvage/Rescue archaeology could not necessarily afford.

in London. There is less of an institutional branding of companies, and more of an individual aspect to it. It is unlike London in that there is not really an identity-affiliation with companies nor national groups; companies also do not have branding (e.g. offering different services of added value) which is seen in London contract companies. In that sense, work is quite personalised and personality-driven: there are particular individuals, for example, that are ‘known’ as sticking to bare minimum. Reputation boils down to the individual, whether they are professional or not, and whether they have the resources to do a decent job. In London, reputation is increasingly institutionalised.

My observational findings highlight it is very difficult for companies to keep afloat. This reality ties in with frustration that those who do not have the capacity and capability to do a job, should simply not bid for it. Confidentially, a government archaeologist reveals:

...it’s very difficult. You have employees who you are responsible to for keeping their salaries going. You have fixed expenses that you have to pay every month regardless of whether you have work or not. It’s very difficult. You can make the argument and in some cases it’s true, that a smarter approach may actually be in many cases - in some cases - less expensive, because if you get somebody who actually thinks about the problem, what particular field situations you’re working in, and makes the necessary background studies (geomorphology or whatever it is) and develops a field strategy that is appropriate to that particular context as opposed to just going at it as a cookie-cutter approach – “oh we’ll just do shovel tests, we’re in a flood plain, we’ll do shovel tests; we’re in an industrial site, we’ll do shovel tests” - with no thought whatsoever as to what is appropriate for that particular context (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

We see a real concern for ‘people who think [they] need to get the next job no matter what’ and so drop their costs and level of work; on the other hand, there are ‘folks who are just one or two person shops, and they can only take on one or two jobs a year - and do those jobs really well. They say “this is going to cost you, even with me doing it - but if you need it done quickly I’m not the person to hire. If you’ve got time, I can do a good job for you”’ (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 9). But these good companies are threatened by ‘greed’:

There are a lot of folks who would rather make a buck than do a good job. And they undercut, they drop the bid, and people...who want to do good work find themselves pinched out because they’re not getting the jobs because they charge a little more. But they’re charging more so the work can be done right. So that’s one of the problems with below-ball bidders...(pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 6).

We discuss this more in Section 7.3.2.

7.2.4.2 Cliques and Territoriality in NYC

66.6% of those interviewed view NYC as cliquey and in some cases unpleasant towards any out-of-city company coming in to do projects (see Figure 77).

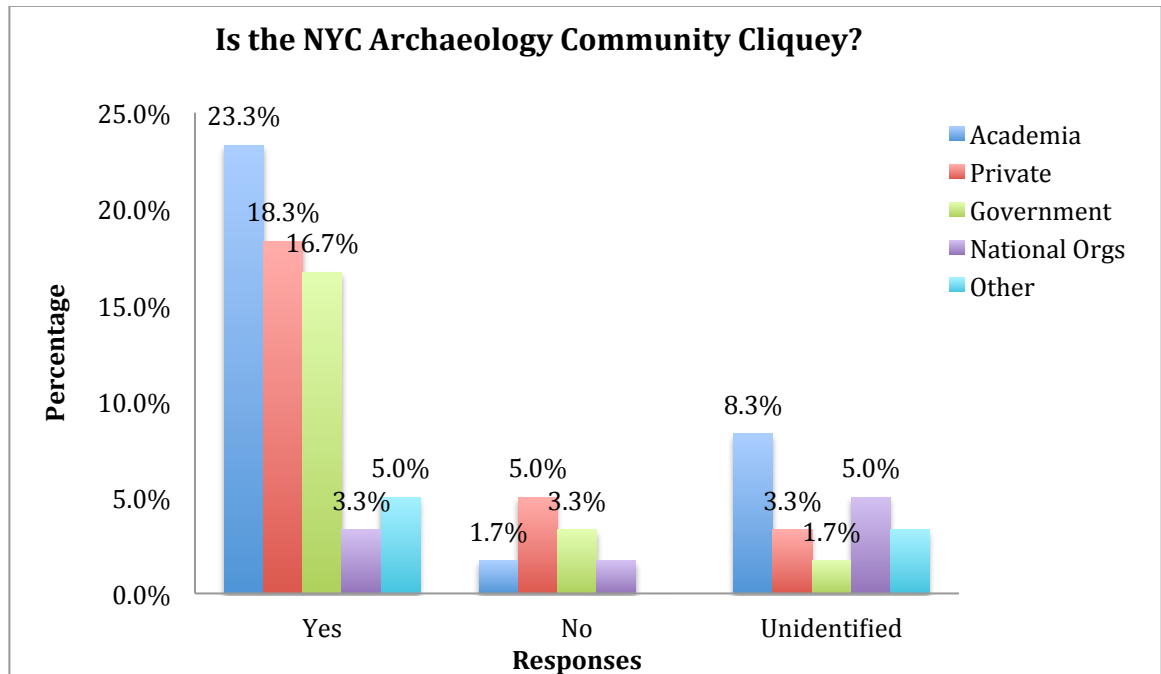


Figure 77 NYC Interviews: Views according to sector for NYC's territoriality and cliqueness

While archaeologists in the city are welcoming, the flipside is that they are also suspicious and irritable at contractors coming in from outside of the city, and feel that the local archaeologists should be contracted for jobs, or that they should have ownership of particular sites (e.g. pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 30; pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Matthews, 2013: 4; pers. comm., Stone, G., 2013). From the interviews, 58.3% felt that NYC was very territorial about their patch, and did not like outsiders coming in (Figure 78).

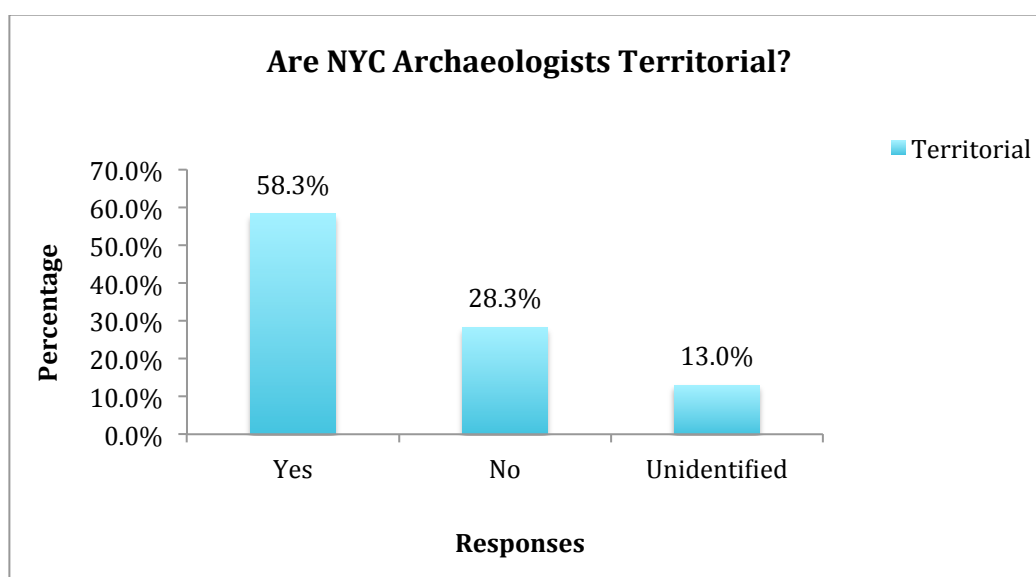


Figure 78 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on whether NYC is territorial or not

The set-up in NYC is reminiscent of London archaeology prior to competitive tendering allowing out-of-city contractors to legitimately enter London. Territoriality has long been an issue with archaeology, and can have very strong benefits as local companies accumulate years of local knowledge and expertise of a particular area. They equally invest a lot of their time in researching their local area, and so are more knowledgeable about previous excavation, work and research done in the past. The counter-argument is that the scientific approach and methodological techniques of archaeology should allow any professional archaeologist to be able to thoroughly and properly conduct fieldwork; equally, no one archaeologist should be the sole container of information and knowledge as when they depart from the profession, so does a wealth of information.

7.2.5 Museums in NYC

New York City has over 20 museums registered with the American Alliance of Museums (AAM). At the time of data collection (2013) there was no museum based in NYC that had links with NYC archaeology.¹⁶⁵ The Museum of Natural History, for example, has a display that has not been changed for decades, and do not take in new material nor are they interested in anything that is not Native American (e.g. pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 14; pers. comm., Sanders, 2013: 7-8).

¹⁶⁵ At time of writing, 2014/2015, the Museum of New York City has become involved with providing a repository for NYC archaeology. Prior to this, interviews with MNYC were declined and the one interview conducted (requested to not record) indicated that the MNYC had no interest or involvement in archaeology at all.

82.5% of interviewees mentioned how not having a museum relationship in the city was detrimental to the city and decreased chances of establishing stronger relationships with the general public. The New York State Museum in Albany, upstate, holds a large NYC collection (due to no available museum/repository in NYC itself) and has an incredible display, alongside strong formal relationships with Albany's state university (e.g. pers. comm., Rieth, 2013: 45; pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 23). It is an exceptional example, but many NYC archaeologists have not ever visited it. New Yorkers in the city are aware that their artefacts have a 'good home' up in Albany, but do lament at them being so far away. There is also the New York Historic Society museum, which is a documentary history museum rather than an archaeological museum. The New York Historical Society was founded in 1804 and is the city's oldest museum and has one of the nation's oldest libraries. Another small addition is the Tenement Museum, which has played a big part in New York's historical story and has also undertaken archaeology on its premises to strengthen their knowledge of the museum. It is small, but surprisingly one of the museums many interviewees mentioned as being an astounding and wonderful museum for understanding NYC history. The South Street Seaport was equally brought up, but has been severely damaged by Hurricane Sandy on top of suffering severe financial issues (see pers. comm., Czekowicz, 2013: 7; pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 30 for more detail).

During the time of research, London IoA graduate Camille Czekowicz¹⁶⁶ was in charge of 'reaching out to the people who manage the collections [of NYC] or who are storing them...and trying to gather information about the material and how it is stored, what its storage needs are, what it is, and what other excavation records or photography they have in their inventory' (pers. comm., Czekowicz, 2013: 9). The idea is to grasp what resources and requirements are necessary to be responsible for and manage the archaeological archive. At time of writing, the Museum of New York City (MNYC) hosts the new repository (see next section).

7.2.5.1 Repositories and Archiving

NYC now has a repository at time of writing. However, it is worth highlighting the negative implications of practising urban archaeology without having a repository. Repositories are critical organs for archaeology. At time of data collection, the issue of a repository came up as one of the main concerns. Local excavation material was being stored in a variety of places, from personal basements to universities, getting lost or misplaced in the process. Material stored in the World Trade Center basements were destroyed, for example, as were some material stored in the South Seaport Museum. Many universities, such as Columbia, NYU, Brooklyn College and Fordham, were also holding material dating back to projects from the 1970s and 80s. These institutions, however, are not repositories and by no means take in any new collection generated from on-

166 During time of interview, worked towards negotiating the creation of repository between MNYC and Landmarks; previously worked in South Seaport Museum

going projects.

The South Street Seaport Museum and New York Unearthed had become quasi-repositories for local excavations but once they both closed, the material was under threat. New York Unearthed, managed by South Street Seaport Museum but owned by the Kaufman Organisation, had their material being threatened of disposal by the Organisation. The New York State Museum stepped in and took the material up to Albany warehouses:

In the past, until the mid-2000s, the South Street Seaport Museum was kind of the de facto archaeological repository. And then it decided it no longer wanted archaeology and it fired its archaeological curator, and it was going to throw away the collections. It was awful. So the collections were given to the State museum which now owns those collections. (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 20).

So far, each project has to come up with their own solution (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 19) so at time of writing there was a lot of material in different areas.

However, as introduced in Section 6.2.7, NYC has a new repository. In email correspondence, Sutphin explained:

...we now have a climate controlled archaeological repository for the city's archaeological collections at 114 W 47th Street (which is in Midtown Manhattan) in space donated by the Durst Organization. It now houses over a 1,000 boxes of artefacts and there are about 500 more that are still in analysis and/or we are in discussions with the current storage facilities. We have also partnered with the Museum of the City of New York who are developing a systematic database for the city's collections and for all future projects (using Qi Software/ Keepthinking) and curation guidelines for existing and future collections. The goal is to put the database online and as it is a relational database, which will include images. It should be a good platform so that a wide range of people may finally access what has been uncovered (for example, we will highlight some objects and then create online exhibits). The draft guidelines were sent out to dozens of stakeholders and comments are now coming in which will be incorporated into the next version that will be sent out for review again. The Museum has been re-cataloguing about 5% of the city's collections to test the new system and is also including all the existing electronic databases. The Museum will be submitting a proposal for the next phase of work soon (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 42).

7.2.5.1.1 Issues about Repositories

The issue of repositories is a dormant one for those not involved or interested in that part of archaeology, however the existence and maintenance of repositories is absolutely critical (see Section 8.3.2). In the US, one of the hopes in the 90s had been that under the Federal government's Department of Interior, there would be a project to establish repositories that could be used as a research centre (pers. comm., anon., 2013). Some agencies actually have their own repositories (such as USACE) – considered outstanding, and comparable to the storage seen in

Indiana Jones Raiders of the Lost Ark where there is an incredibly large warehouse with thousands of boxes:

...the last scene of *Raiders of the Lost Ark*: they wheel the Arc of the Covenant in the box into the Army (if you notice it's a US Army facility storage) - that was the most accurate statement of that movie in terms of archaeology! What happens to all this stuff is it gets crated up and boxed, and put away in warehouses where no one will ever see it again. USACE, for example, stores at a storage facility in Saint Louis. Well, that's brilliant! In New York City, this is a very big problem because even though the Fed laws state when you dig a site and you recover anything, whoever is the owner of that site is in charge of saving the artefacts in perpetuity. That's actually in the law. Nobody follows that section of the law. Artefacts are boxed up and either thrown away, put into storage houses - it is a very, very big problem that we just do not have artefacts available for researchers, for students to use for projects, for the general public to see (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

Another issue that a lack of a repository affects relates to ownership of material. Landowners own any archaeological material on their property. It is more difficult for contractors or agencies to convince them to put collections in an approved repository when there is no repository, say archaeologists. Furthermore, it is often the case that archaeologists do not think of the costs for storing, so do not price it into their bids. Ideally, the Department of Interior should provide regional repositories that federal agencies pay into - not landowners nor CRM firms - to maintain, protect and research material (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

7.2.6 *National Organisations and Local Societies*

Similar to London, local societies moved to the backseat when archaeology became a legal requirement. In the 1960s, recalls Baugher:

there was this band of amateurs and professionals who worked together cooperatively...then in the 1960s, the New Archaeology, this whole scientific processual archaeology. The move was to separate ourselves, being the people with the degrees, "we are scientifically trained – you are just amateurs." The thought was that allowing the public onto your site was contaminating your site. You definitely didn't want to talk to American Indians about how they used certain artefacts, because that would distort your scientific objective analysis of letting the artefact speak for itself. There was this whole movement that your site and your research wouldn't be taken seriously if you had any amateurs working with you...Also you didn't want to open up your site for any public tours because the public were all pot-hunters, and were going to destroy your site overnight. There was this definite secretive quality, and also this must-speak-in-jargon so only the inner circle knew what you were saying: "We will make our reports incomprehensible to the public" (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 21).

From the interviews, 30% said there was no trust between professionals and avocational; 48.3% voiced there is trust and 21.7% of interviewee views were not identifiable. Interestingly, something not raised in London was that archaeologists tended to voice how they were scared of

public outreach, due to the looting of sites (See Figure 79; see pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 17). Site locations are even blacked out on site reports. Additionally, an interviewee confidentially mentioned that they noticed that the ‘general public was considered a nuisance or threat to the protection of the resources’ by archaeologists, which he suggests ‘deprives archaeology of public support’ (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

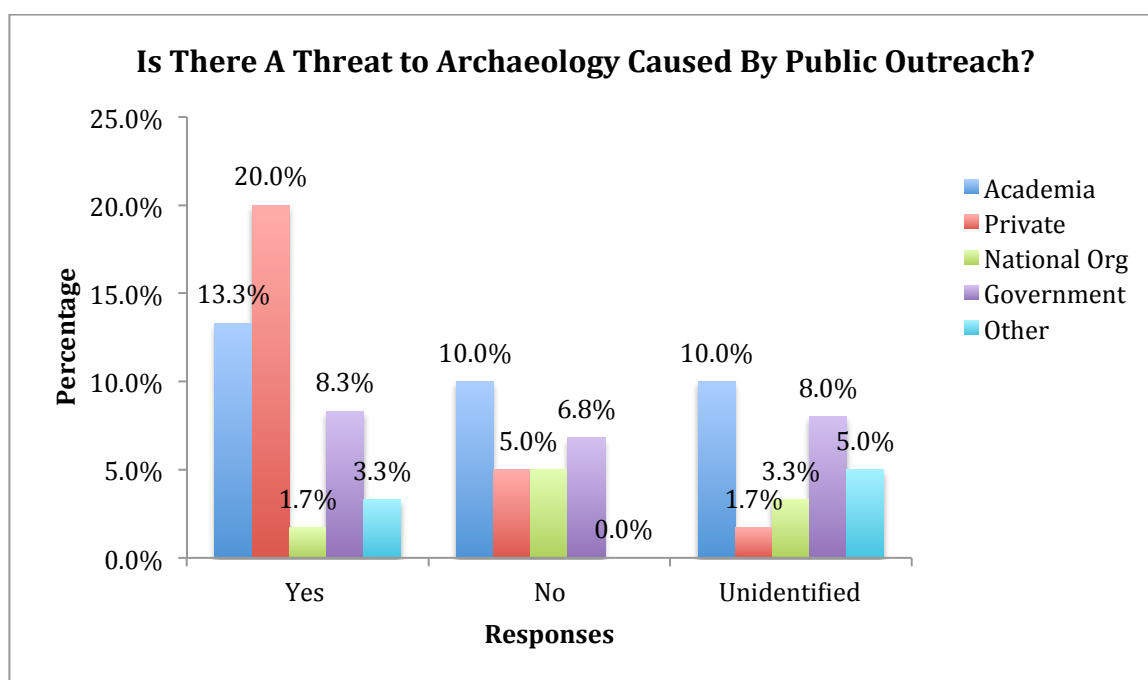


Figure 79 NYC Interviews: Does informing the public about sites increase the risk of site looting?

That said, there is, like London, an expanding recognition that local societies and the role of the enthusiast are quite important for archaeology. Brian Yates comments:

There are the archaeological societies, and they are avocational. And I think the people who belong to them are not academically trained but are very interested and their heart is in the right place, and I think those groups are great...I think it's great because those people typically have a passion for preservation and saving things...when it comes to projects, you have to rely on local people's knowledge cause the local people know a lot more than you do. And you have to tap into that. If you identify a site, you got to do interviews with local people, because they will know. They'll have all kinds of information. And if you think they're not a professional, and you're the professional that knows more than them, then you're ignorant and stupid. That's just where you need to start, because you'll get such a resource, and - in the avocational groups - it's fostering that kind of interest from the public. That's what it should all be about. If we're not educating the public on the archaeological resources, what the hell are we doing it for?

...if you don't take that to the next level, take it to the public, if you're not taking your knowledge and going to avocational groups and offering lectures, if you're not going

to schools and offering lectures, if you're not producing publicly consumable materials, if you're not producing documentaries or DVDs to distribute to libraries...why you doing it? It's very selfish to keep all that to yourself. If you've learned so much about a site, it's your obligation to share it with the public and make it accessible to those who want access to it (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 59-61)

7.2.6.1 NYSAA and its Metropolitan Chapters

NYSAA is an organisation that is inclusive, uniting amateurs, avocationals, professionals, and anyone with an interest in archaeology. There is a lot of socialising between NYAC and NYSAA, with joint annual meetings, and a 'concerted effort to keep communication open between the two groups' (pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 14). NYSAA has what is called 'chapters', which are little groups around the state composed of people who may participate in archaeological investigation, excavation, interpretation and publication. From the interviews, the general impression is that many of those involved in the both NYAC and NYSAA are friends, so you can see an effective channel between the two, comparable to LAMAS and its professional ties in London. NYC interviewees seemed very supportive of the endeavours of NYSAA, albeit not very involved (Figure 80).

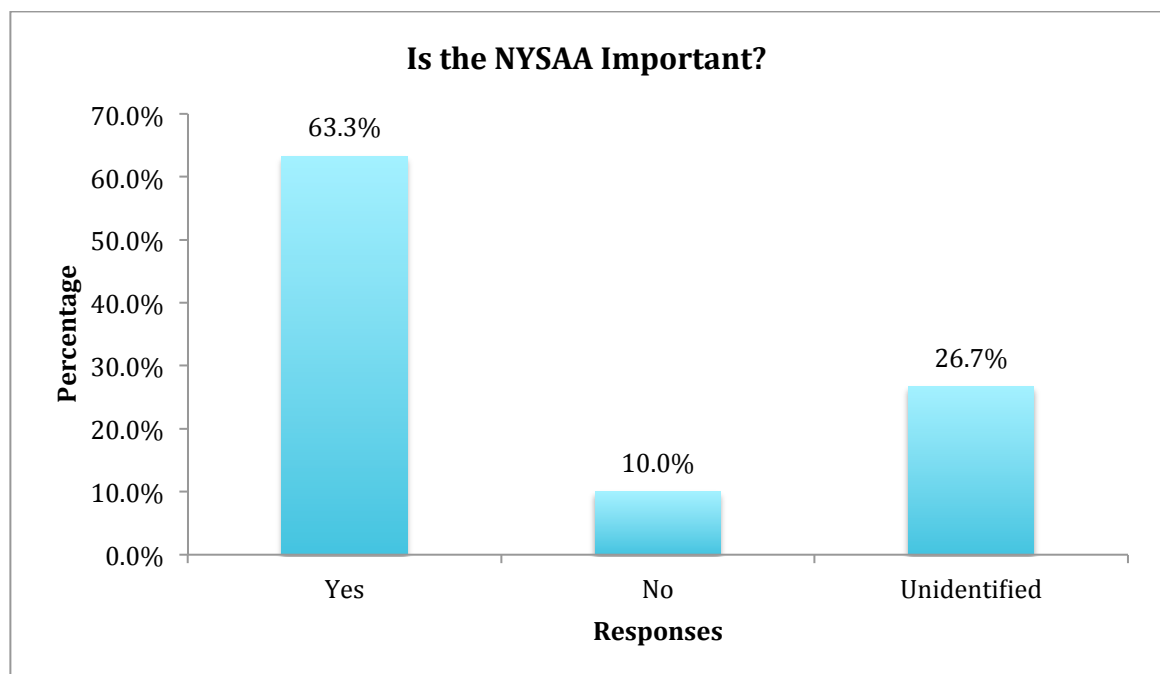


Figure 80 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on importance of NYSAA

NYC seems to be an exception to the rule in terms of having a strong relationship between

avocational and professionals. ‘Outside New York City you have a good mix...it’s only in New York City that you don’t have a mix’ (pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 17).

The Metropolitan Chapter belonging to NYC was founded in 1961. Former president Chris Ricciardi talked about why the Met chapter has suffered, although there are new attempts to revive it by young archaeologists in the city:

The Met Chapter could be an interesting organisation...There are times when it’s fantastic. It was great in the 50s, 60s, and 70s - it was really, really good. It started to die when PANYC came about because that’s when the laws came on the books that you couldn’t do archaeology in the city unless you have a degree. And so, all of a sudden, all these amateurs who’d been working for thirty or forty years - who could dig better than many professionals could – weren’t allowed to work on sites anymore. And without the ability to physically dig, the public loses their interest in archaeology because all they could do was hear lectures by these professionals. And the Met Chapter has never been able to recover from that, and in part because there are no academics digging in New York City anymore. If there were academics still digging in New York City, that would give these non-professionals an opportunity to dig and be interested. Now, upstate New York, the local chapters - the New York State Archaeological Association, which is what the Met chapter is part of - flourish! Because they can dig. And they do dig. They’re very, very active. There’s a lot of archaeology going on in New York State. But here in the city, there’s none if it’s not CRM. So the Met Chapter suffers from the fact that there’s nothing new - which is ironic because archaeology only deals with old things in the past (pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 13).

I should point out immediately that amateurs are also viewed as highly knowledgeable, educated and experienced individuals who could often work better and know more than the professional (e.g. pers. comm., Solecki, 2013: 15; pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 14; pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 1,5; pers. comm., Cantwell: 15, 44), but just do not ‘have those two little letters after [their] name’ so are not considered professionals (pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 14). It proves quite detrimental, as those without a masters degree are often not given the respect they are due, cannot monitor sites nor author reports by themselves.

7.2.6.2 National Organisations

Very briefly, there are plenty of national and regional organisations that play a significant role in providing a network for individuals and for placing on-going pressure on Congress and government to keep environment laws strong. These organisations include the AIA, SAA, CNEHA and the SHA. I do not discuss these organisations here, but it is worth noting that 71.7% of interviews perceive them as important.¹⁶⁷ The extent to which local archaeologists are directly involved with these organisations (through subscription, attendance of conferences, lobbying, awareness of activities) is another matter (my observation is that it is low) and an area which may be explored further.

¹⁶⁷ 8.1% were coded as not placing much importance, and 20% unidentified

7.2.7 *Other Lobbying, Pressure, or Learned Societies*

There is a range of different groups and societies in NYC which lobby, pressure, or are simply learned societies. Understanding their focus highlights the strong distinction between historic preservation and archaeology in the US. While the majority of interviews indicate that archaeologists feel archaeology and historic preservation overlap (Figure 81), my observations indicate that historic preservationists do not feel archaeology is part of their mission.

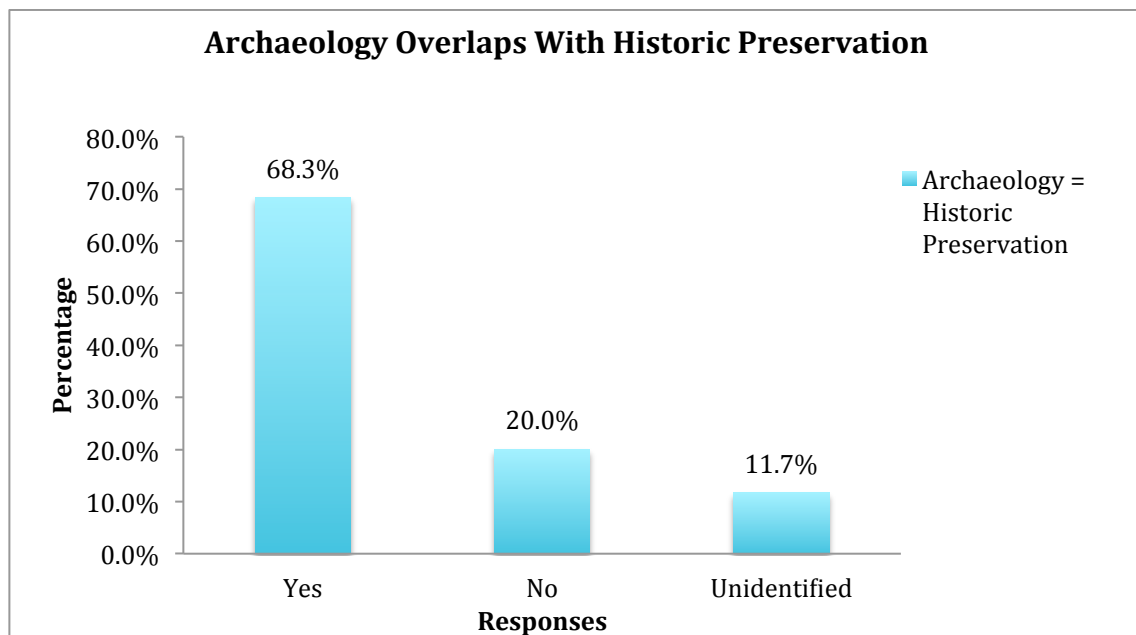


Figure 81 NYC Interviews: Views of whether archaeology overlaps with historic preservation

Regardless, archaeologists are very aware of the strength of the community that historic preservation attracts. They are also aware of the power the community has to influence politicians. The US has a very strong people's movement, owed mainly to their antagonistic relationship with government and their strong connection to individual and constitutional rights and liberties. Added further is the capacity of descendant groups and communities to mobilise, the strength of which was witnessed in the African Burial Ground controversy, and also seen through Native American rights to cultural resources. In short, archaeologists are well aware of the importance and power of the community to create change (Figure 82).

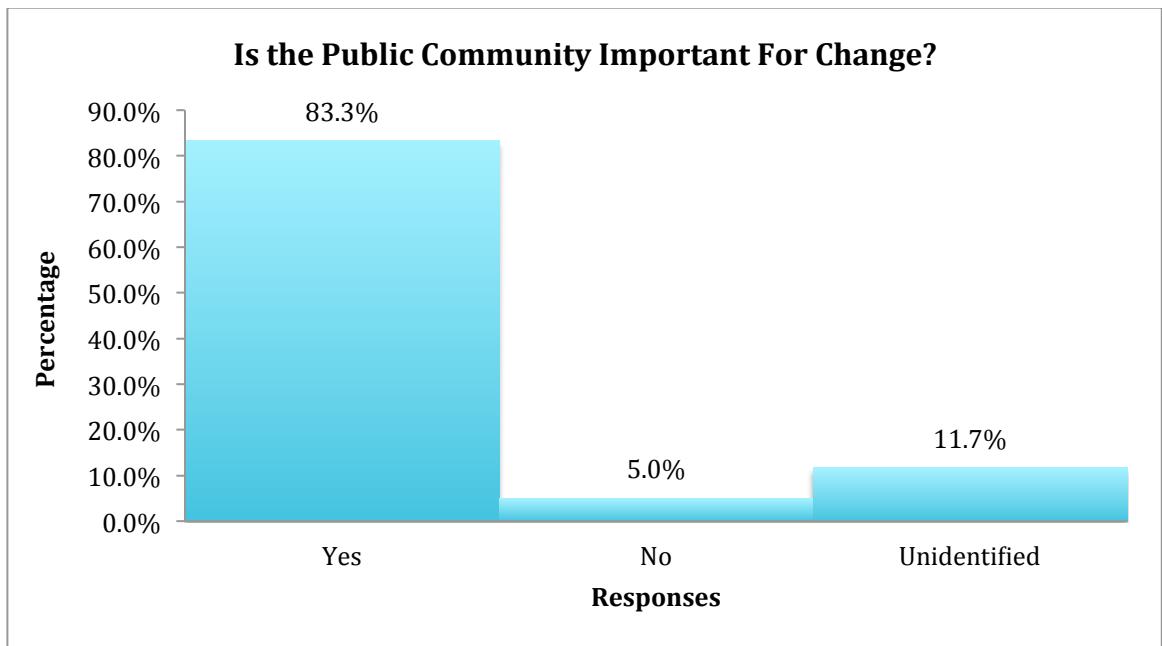


Figure 82 NYC Interviews: Participants perception on importance of public community

7.2.7.1 Historic Preservation Local Organisations

Two historic preservation societies are the Historic Council District (HCD) and the Neighborhood Preservation Center. HCD is an advocacy group run by Simeon Bankoff, the son of one of NYC's renowned academic archaeologists Arthur Bankoff. Simeon advocates and helps mobilise communities if they come to him with preservation concerns. Although HCD does not consider itself as having much to do with archaeology at all, their mission to preserve districts and the historic environment can often create a crossover.

The Neighborhood Preservation Center is a neutral organisation that hopes only to provide information and resources to groups or individuals interested in the historic environment. Felicia Mayro,¹⁶⁸ the head of the Center, actually did her undergraduate in archaeology and architectural history. The Center is an incredible resource and hub of information based in central NYC, which allows for a more engaging atmosphere with the public. 'We're an incubator for new preservation groups', says Mayro, helping with moral support, mentoring and offering guidance (pers. comm., 2013: 7). They see themselves as 'one place dedicated to neighbourhood preservation [as] it might inspire kinds of networking and organic connections...' (pers. comm., Mayro, 2013: 2).

What is interesting about these two groups, however, is that they do not see themselves as having any relation with archaeology (see transcripts for further information: pers. comm., Mayro, 2013; pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013; pers. comm., Dolkart, 2013).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Director of St Mark's Historic Landmark Fund and Neighborhood Preservation Center

7.3 Emerging Themes

While the emerging themes presented here are the same as those of London, they are drawn out of a different historical background and environment. That is what makes them interesting: while both London and NYC are quite different, these themes – critical to understanding and addressing challenges in the archaeological profession – emerge as areas of concern. I present the results here using as much data collected from surveys and interviews as possible. Where this is not possible, I draw on my observations.

7.3.1 *The Holistic Approach*

In NYC, the idea of the holistic approach is tied in with asking the ‘bigger questions’, which links back to the tensions between academia and development-led archaeology (see Section 7.2.3). In the interviews, a majority of participants felt that there was a lack of a holistic approach (Figure 83). Like much of the other NYC results, there is not much difference between sector views (i.e. government, academia and private - there is only a difference of 3%). The issue roots in what archaeologists perceive as a lack of support which inhibits them from working towards outcomes beyond compliance or the requirements of academia.

Furthermore, part of creating a synergy in the archaeological community is based on collaborative efforts, access to information and an understanding of how to mitigate the impact of competition and sector fragmentation. Some of these issues are discussed here.

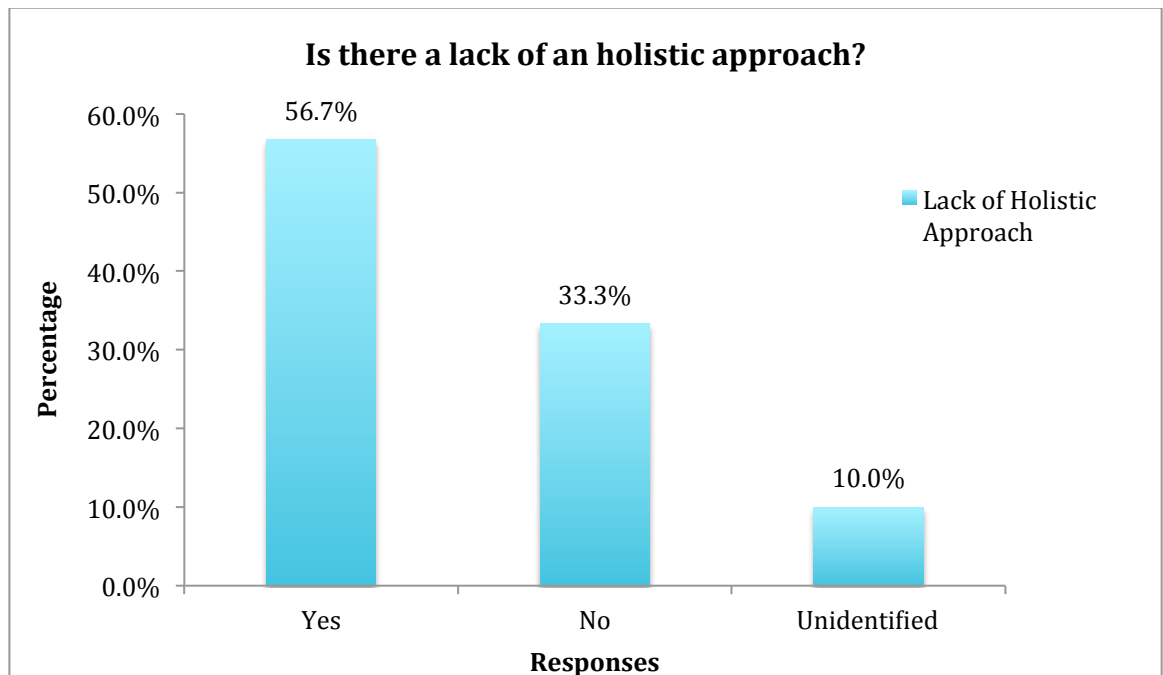


Figure 83 NYC Interviews: Perceptions of presence of a holistic approach

7.3.1.1 Support, Well-being and Issues of Funding

Like London, in NYC we observe how the pressures and challenges of development and the economy (see Section 3.2.1) push archaeologists to feel they have wavering and minimal support, are an expensive profession for developers, and that they constantly need to fight battles (see Section 7.3.3.3.2).

As highlighted in previous sections (e.g. Section 2.2 and 5.3.1), support and the sense of having a stable and constant value are vital for the profession precisely because individuals feel that they are able to perform and contribute to something that has a visible outcome. Below, we look at external and financial support from a NYC perspective.

Interviews results (Figure 84) suggest that more than double the participants feel that individuals – primarily in government roles – are overstretched with too much to do and too little resources (e.g. pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Huey, 2013: 21; pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 8; pers. comm., Cox, 2013: 24).

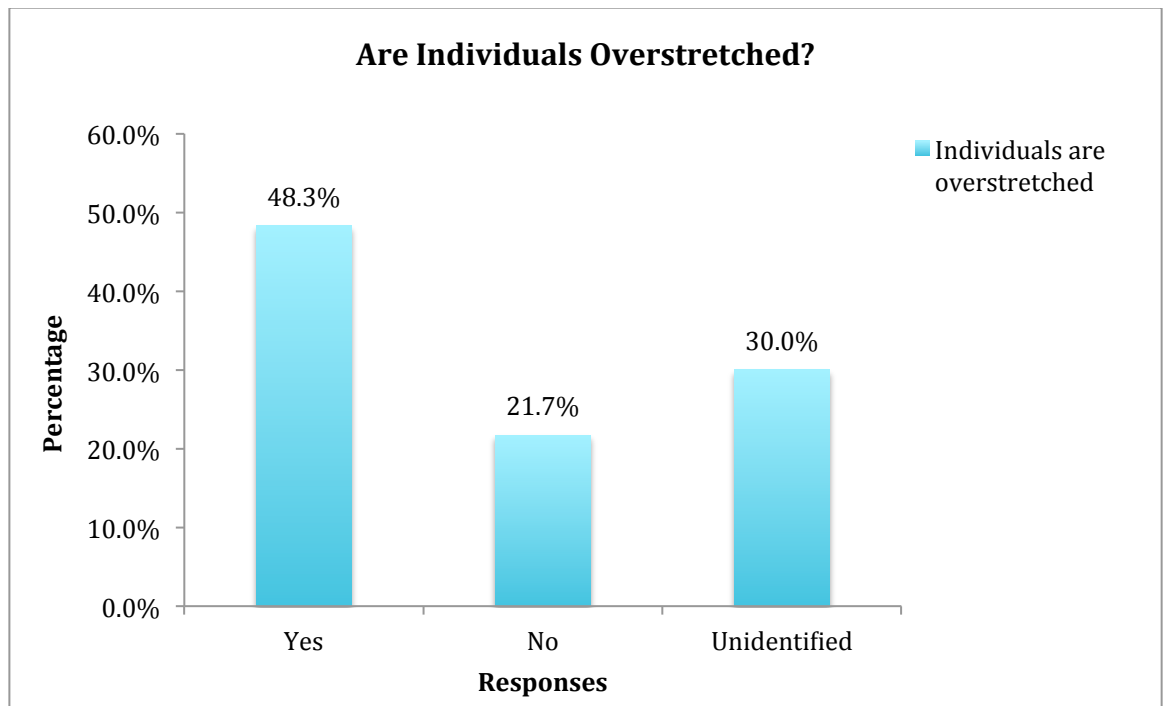


Figure 84 NYC Interviews: Perceptions of lack of support

7.3.1.1.1 External Support

The presence of external support, beyond legislation, is incredibly important. While law provides the backbone to a dry set of minimum requirements, how these laws are translated into larger society matter. Confidentially, an NYC archaeologist commented:

...it's very easy to sit there and say, "you're not doing your job and then wave the finger". Well, fine. How are they not doing their job? What can you do to make their job better? What can you do to change a political appointee's opinion of why this is important? Don't just say it's the law. Cause you know what - this country has a lot of laws! And how many of them are truly followed? Did you walk the street against a red light today? You broke the law. Did you go to jail for it? No. So don't just wave the finger and say "the law says..." - the law says a lot of things. So what are you going to do now? What are you going to do to change people's minds? Who are you going to meet with? Are you going to demand a meeting with politician x or y to say this has got to change? (pers. comm., anon., 2013)

What this means is that despite the presence of law, if the political agenda and ideology does not support cultural resources, then we witness a squeeze in resources such as funding, infrastructure and staff. Interview participants support that political decisions are squeezing the potential to do archaeology well (Figure 85; also presented alongside results is perceptions of the mayor's role, discussed earlier in Section 7.2.1.2 - Figure 68). My observation is that archaeologists not only

have to fight high up in Congress, but also have to fight locally as mayor-developer relationships is another level at which archaeology can be sidelined.

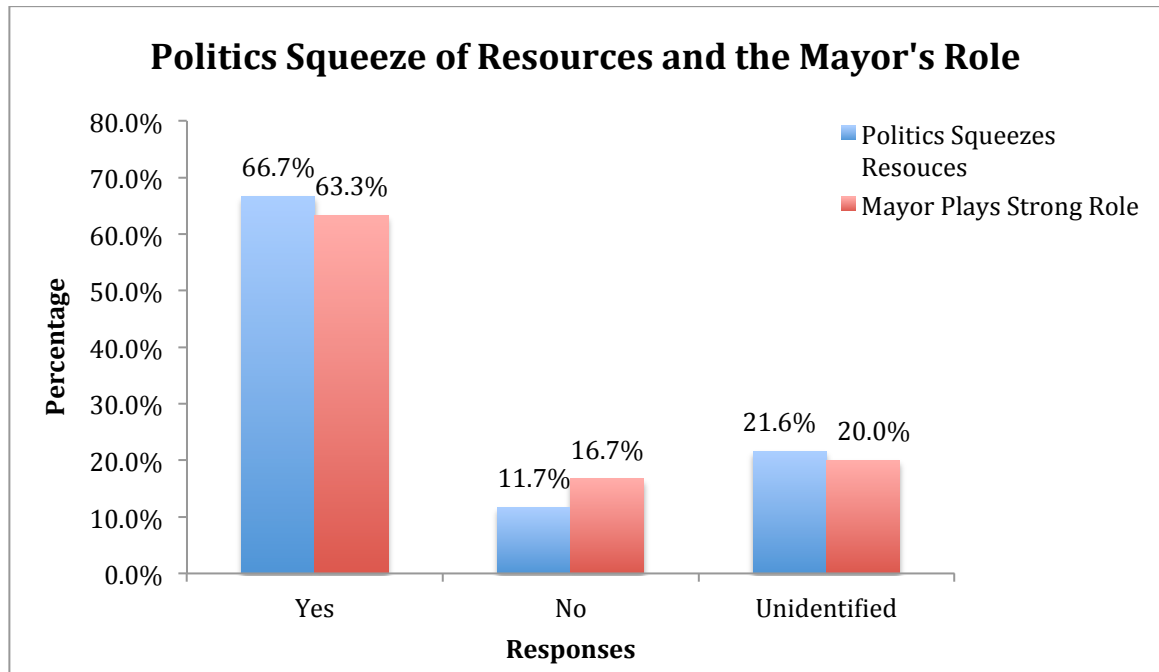


Figure 85 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on impact of politics and the mayor

‘Every year we are fighting Congress cutting regulatory programmes’ but the ‘law ain’t gonna stop developers, if there’s a buck to be made, they will do it’ (pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 4, 18). Doing archaeology or some sort of preservation is about having a ‘legal hook’, ‘begrudgingly given under legal necessity’ instead of giving some sort of value (e.g. pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 49-50; e.g. pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 6; pers. comm., Hunter & Burrow: 35-39). The real battle is to change minds (pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 4, 14).

Interestingly, 56.7%¹⁷⁰ of interviewees believe that NYC has strong laws. The other 25% comment that despite laws to protect archaeology being in the books, it is dependent on federal or state funding, and relatively small amounts of government funding can ‘go through the cracks, particularly because the real estate lobbyists are powerful’ or ‘somebody’s got the juice’ (pers. comm., Cox, 2013: 27-28; pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 21; see pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 3; pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013: 8; pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 34).

Archaeologists just simply do not feel that they are supported by the government regardless of the law. Instead, the government’s relationship with developers is what impacts the dynamic between developers and archaeologists. The media, too, tends to glorify treasure-hunting (e.g. through

¹⁷⁰ Results: 56.7% laws are strong; 25% laws are not strong; 18% unidentified

programmes such as *American Digger* or *Savage Family Diggers*) or cover disaster stories of archaeology gone wrong (e.g. pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 11; pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 25), although of course there is some good press too.

Many archaeologists in the interviews discussed that after establishing a rapport with construction workers, it was revealed the workers were told that if they ‘come across skeletons and things like that’ they should not report it otherwise they would get fired, or archaeologists who would not share information because ‘they fear they’d lose their job’ (pers. comm. Mackey, 2013: 14; e.g. pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 19). Alyssa Loorya also recounted how she heard similar stories where construction workers were ordered:

“Don’t stop, just keep on going and ignore it”...it’s kind of sad when you think about it. I’ve had guys tell me all sorts of stories. Working in the city where they hit an entirely huge deposit of cowheads and horns, and they just throw it all out. It’s absolutely heartbreaking. Even right down to the Five Points collection, it was lost in 9/11. I met several construction workers who were working on the 9/11 site, and said that there was a certain area where they just had hundreds of thousands of all this early painted pottery and stuff. They took bottles and everything home. And a lot of them are collectors, they collect stuff. They probably found the remains of Five Points but no one would alert anybody (pers. comm, Loorya, 2013: 16).

From the interviews, 75% said that they have been threatened or heard about threats to archaeologists from developers (Figure 86). This is a horrific percentage, demonstrating the hostile environment that archaeologists are working in.

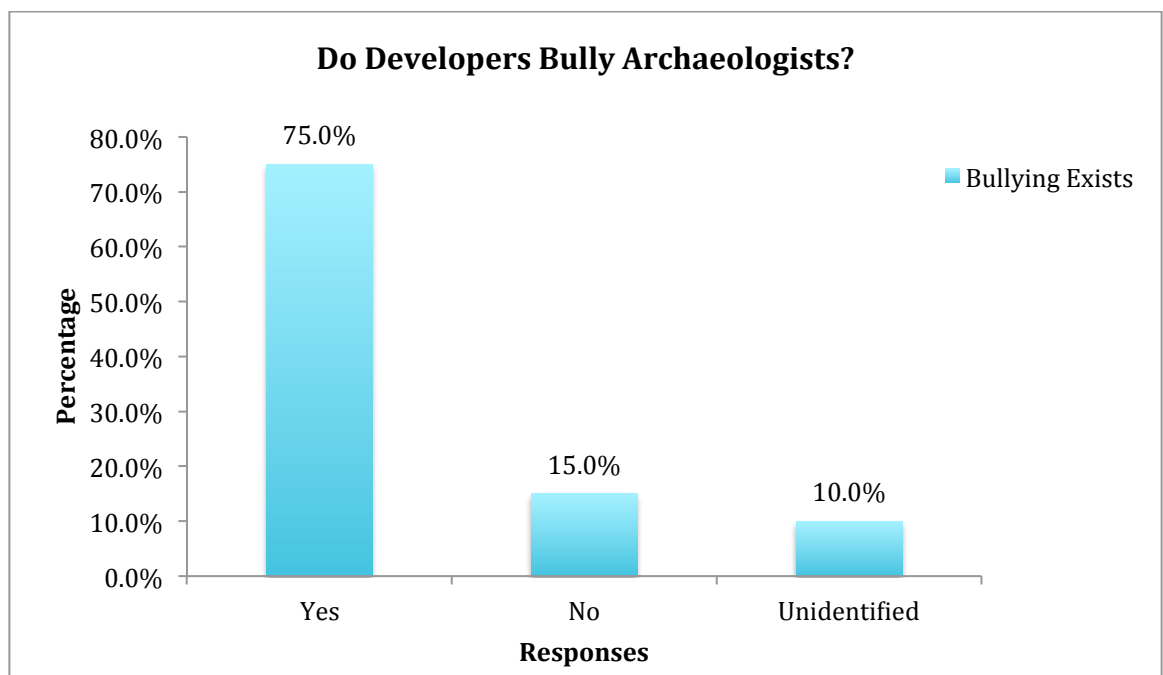


Figure 86 NYC Interviews: Perceptions of bullying from developers

NYC clearly has more situations than London – at least admitted - where developers or powerful people try to pay off or bribe archaeologists. Mackey mentions how landowners and developers had tried to offer him money asking ‘how much it would take...to say [he] didn’t find anything’ (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 16; e.g. pers. comm., Bergoffen, 2013: 32). He suggests ‘open bribe attempts are out there’, and some archaeologists do take it – apparently a known occurrence called ‘digging for dollars’ (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 17).

Although these opportunities may partially boil down to ‘integrity’ (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 7), pressure can be extremely high. Pressure is both external and internal, as Carol Weed explains:

... I don’t think it’s just restricted to New York City. I was in SHPO in Ohio, working on a project, when one of the review archaeologists just went into meltdown because a private developer had just gone in and totally wiped a site out overnight. I mean just completely wiped it off the map, and they pulled every law that they could think of, and literally did send the guy to jail. So people do this. It happens. There is a lot of money in this city, and people can make things happen... (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 19)

Similarly, Baugher had been told by an unpleasant developer, ‘You’re not going to hold up my project and demand we do archaeology - I don’t feel there’s any value in NYC archaeology, you’re not going to do it.’ of which she replied ‘fine, I’m still not going to approve this’ (pers. comm., 2013: 9). The developer responded, ‘well then I will go and make sure you’re fired - I have the ear of the mayor and I’ll make sure you’re totally side-lined and fired’. Cece Saunders from Historical Perspectives presents another story with a political figure building a golf course:

We had gone through everything all around the table - the trees, the wildlife - and he [landowner] said, “I think we’re done and all set”, and I held up my hand and said “we have to deal with the archaeology”. And then he starts screaming about “f*cking archaeology”, and I had to sit there why he accused me of cheating, and it was nothing but a bunch of rocks. Nevermind the carbon dating we had and everything else. Then he turned to his lawyer and said, “who do I talk to in Albany? I want to make this go away” (pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 10).

These are shocking accounts and demonstrate the climate in which archaeologists are working in. It is hard to work in an environment and not be ‘jaded’, bitter or ‘lose your cool’ after so many times (e.g. pers. comm. Mackey, 2013: 13; pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 10; pers. comm. Morin, 2013: 5; pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 11). It also helps provide an understanding of just how much pressure archaeologists are under, which weighs on both the profession’s role and also the archaeologists, even if they are appointed by requirement of the law.

In conclusion, archaeologists perceive that politics has a huge impact on everything they do (Figure 87), and are well aware that in a city of real estate, lawyers and a lot of money, environmental and cultural concerns really fall low.

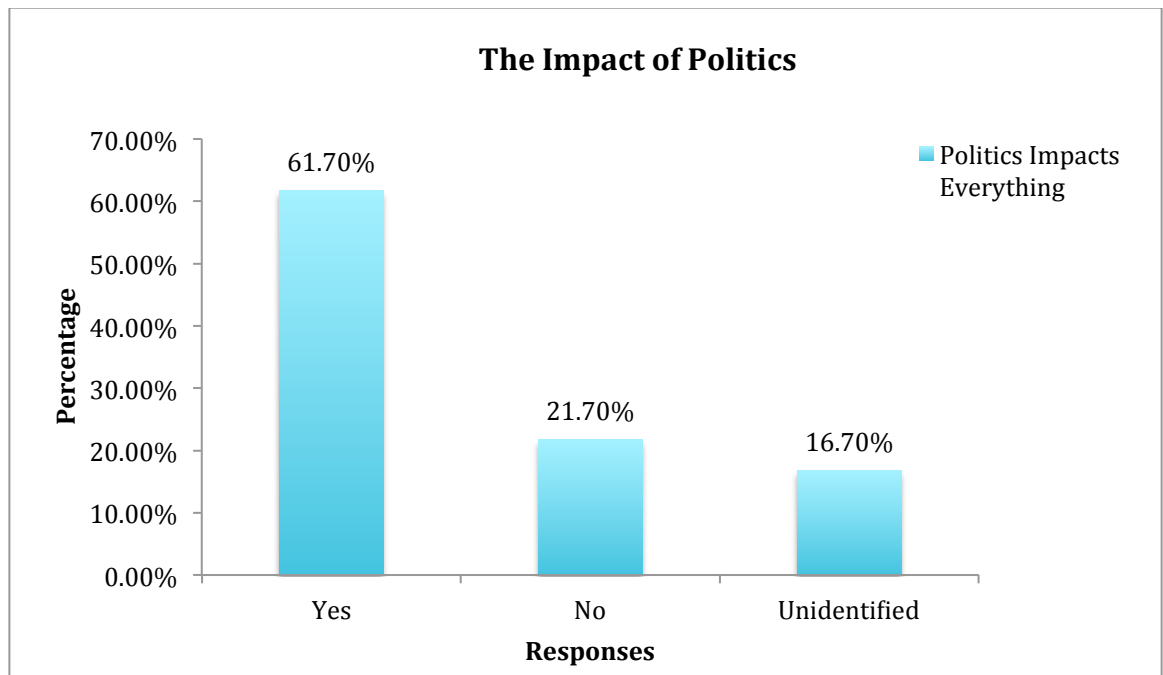


Figure 87 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on the impact of politics on archaeology

7.3.1.1.2 Securing Financial Support

A key aspect of support is financial security, and the ability to sustain the resources and staff necessary to uphold legislation and ensure that the protection of the historic environment is adequately considered. Twenty-seven out of forty-two interviewees felt that there is a need for stronger regulatory structures (Figure 88). The need for stronger regulation is not actually about the structures in place, it is about having the resources, funds, staff and support – the ability – to properly function to a fullest capacity.

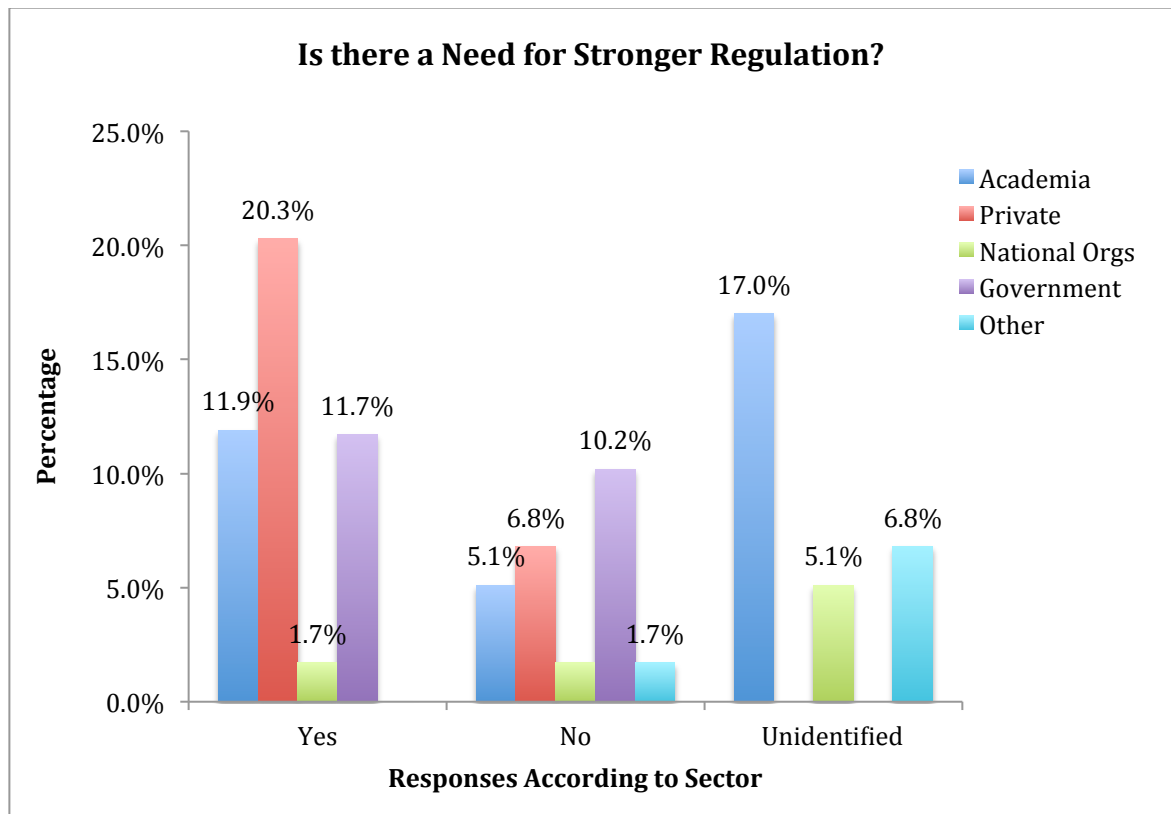


Figure 88 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on the need to strengthen regulation

Findings illustrate that archaeologists constantly feel that they are up against people with ‘juice’: large sums of money circulating the upper spheres that have the influence to turn laws into malleable pillars within an oligarchical structure. While there are federal, state and city laws in place, pressures are embedded in the structures. There is the legal framework to ensure that a process takes place; however the legal infrastructures (or instruments) in place, which regulate the archaeological process, are weak, easily pushed aside, and subject to the authority of higher powers in different tiers of government. Archaeologists are constantly in a position to try and defend existing laws remain in place (e.g. pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013: 25; pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 6; pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 89), which are often argued as socialist or communist agendas due to their regulatory component (pers. comm., Bankoff, 2013: 25). At the federal level, there is tremendous pressure by politicians to weaken both environmental and preservation laws so that business can move forward easily. In fact, any law that is seen as restricting instead of facilitating business and development is under threat. The SAA, SHA ACRA, CHENA and many other organisations have all been campaigning senators and congressmen to keep existing law intact, as preservation and archaeology become further entangled in the US’s trajectory towards increased deregulation by decreasing funds rather than axing the law itself. ‘We are basically told that we

[are] wasting taxpayers money and so forth’ (per. comm., Perazio, 2013: 7). Cox¹⁷¹ suggests the same thing:

I think that there are big industry people with lots of money that work to undermine the environmental laws in this country, and part of that whole framework...they’re saying it’s bad for business (pers. comm., Cox, 2013: 27).

It is always cultural resources that are the first to go, because ‘when it’s hard economic times, archaeology is considered a luxury’ (pers. comm., Janowitz, 2013: 16; supported by all participants).

In line with the law being reinterpreted and avoided when possible, the allocation of funds is increasingly being diverted from social sciences, humanities and the arts and being put into other areas (perhaps considered more profitable). The overall structure developed during the 1970s and 1980s which focused on developing regulation, methods of research, and instrumental organisations to uphold the structures are now being defunded as an alternative strategy to drive deregulation, as opposed to trying to scrap preservation and protection laws. It is a lot easier to decrease critical mass and squeeze resources and abilities through creating a financial and resource freeze, which inevitably decreases the capability and impact of historic preservation. A freeze means, for example, the refusal of government bodies, universities and contract firms to replace individuals who are retiring or leaving; or disabling the proper training of newcomers/replacements. In addition, cutting staff and resources also acts as a testing ground to see what job can be done – albeit to very low standards – with the least amount of staff and resources. Unfortunately most archaeologists take pride in their work, and so literally bend over backwards to accomplish impossible tasks: but if the job is checked off, the job is done. As one contractor was told: ‘this company will always prefer a C report on time than an A report over budget’ (pers. comm., Janowitz, 2013: 19). This is the mentality – as long as it is done, standards do not matter.

As Nan Rothschild points out:

I don’t think there’s an overall structure, I think that in the 70s and 80s there was much more interest in developing regulations and methods of research and how people should go about - how the SHPO, how the federal government - should establish valid kinds of modalities for archaeological work. NYAC was very involved in that. I was involved in that. And Bert Salwen was involved in that. And then, the federal government gradually - instead of trying to pass laws that did away with CRM - just defunded a lot of it. They stopped giving SHPO enough money to do what they are supposed to do, so it’s gotten a lot more difficult (pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 11).

The squeeze and freeze process is also promoted by streamlining, or using faster and simpler methods. While streamlining could be a very effective, it has resulted in a ‘minimalist mentality

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[where] you have people that are just resigned to a reduced existence, reduced programmes’, resulting in ‘permanent effects’ (pers. comm., Jameson, 2013: 13-14):

Even if we get more money, we’re not going to go back to the quality of work, I don’t think, that we were doing. There’s just not going to be those motivations or those trained people. A lot of those people have retired, like me – it’s time...a big wave, almost an avalanche, or tidal wave of retirements is on the horizon in the federal government here, and there’s going to be a lot of institutional knowledge and values that are going to go out the door (pers. comm., Jameson, 2013: 13-14).

John Jameson¹⁷² makes a critical point which is brought up in later sections (e.g. Section 7.3.2): there is an element of Stockholm Syndrome where archaeologists themselves begin to believe that the profession costs too much, is expensive, and needs to be done through streamlining. Similar to what I observed in London, archaeologists appear to undervalue *themselves*.

7.3.1.2 Collaboration, Communication and Information Flow

Collaboration, communication and particularly information flow were highlighted through interviews as main factors that inhibit a holistic approach to archaeology. However, the results in Figure 89 are from the survey, which – although only 9 participants responded – support the results from the interviews suggesting that most archaeologists feel *there is* good communication between groups (Figure 90).

Perceptions on the Level of Communication in NYC’s Archaeology Community

<i>Response Options</i>	<i>Number of Participants</i>
Very good between all groups	1
Good but needs to be improved	3
Average	5
Total	9

*Figure 89 NYC Survey: Rating the level of communication by participants.*¹⁷³

172 Senior Archaeologist at NPS from 1988; Vice President of International Committee on Interpretation and Preservation at ICOMOS; previously archaeologist at USACE from 1985 - 1988

173 Note: results are not in percentage

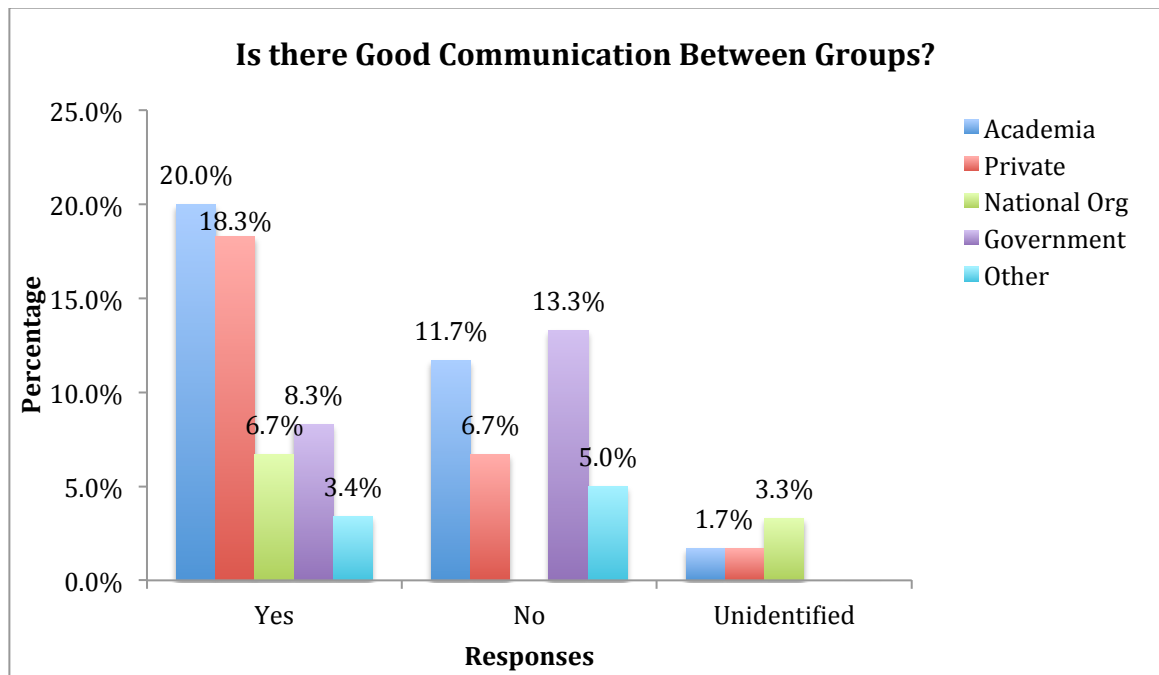


Figure 90 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on communication between groups

The total percentage in the ‘Yes’ category is 56.7% against 36.7% as no. Findings indicate that the academic and private sectors feel there is a good level of communication. I suggest this is because the community of NYC archaeologists is relatively small and based on a few individuals. This is likely due to a series of circumstances brought up earlier:

- Because the NYC archaeology community is small, competitive, extremely difficult and unsupportive, it is difficult to be a CRM firm without setting up a small company and competing with those already established. This means the pool of CRM firms remains small in number;
- Equally, small companies can only employ a small number of archaeologists based on projects won; hence employment is found in larger firms which do not limit their work to the city, which keeps the NYC community small;
- The academic structure is such that those teaching and creating the link with other sectors are a select few, such as Nan Rothschild, Diana Wall, Arthur Bankoff and Allan Gilbert. The networks are few, established predominantly through them (see Figure 21)
- More importantly, the responses are from those already *within* the archaeology community loop; this clique has good communication as they generally attend the PANYC meeting, but those outside of this clique may find communication weak.

Therefore, communication is decent within a small section of the community, who happen to be

the most visible and accessible to reach. The survey results (Figure 91) suggest that the community is fragmented; these results are actually self-serving in that the survey *not* reaching a wider community, predominantly the younger archaeologists, strengthens this point.

Perceptions on the Archaeological Community in NYC

<i>Response Options</i>	<i>Number of Participants</i>
Works together well as a whole and has a good level of collaboration and cooperation	1
Works together, collaborates and cooperates only when necessary	3
Does not have the work relationships or structures in place for collaborative work to the best potential	4
Is fragmented with isolated organisations unaware of what others are doing, and failing to collaborate or cooperate	1
Total	9

Figure 91 NYC Survey: Perceptions on community fragmentation versus cohesiveness

Results from the interviews show that 43.3% feel the community is fragmented and 50% saying that it is not (e.g. pers. comm., Hunter & Burrow, 2013: 42; pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 5). The discrepancy is low. A lot of communication relies on individual ties rather than structures being in place (see Section 7.3.3): ‘It’s a very up and down or uneven communication’, comments Mackey, ‘there are some people who are really good at it...’ (pers. comm., 2013: 4). But, clearly, others are *not* really good at it. ‘Nobody really talks to each other’, says one CRM archaeologist (pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 5); another comments, ‘I don’t work for a big firm, I’m somewhat isolated, so I’m not 100% sure what goes on out there’ (pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 5).

With PANYC, archaeologists have the opportunity to find out officially what is going on; furthermore, while there might not be much in the way of on-going events (such as in London), a lot of information flow and communication circulates through gossip, reports, publications, or Amanda Sutphin from LPC putting people in touch. Also, NYC archaeologists have grown together since the 1970s, and so there is a tight-knit group that ‘came up together’ (e.g. pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 14; pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 11; pers. comm., Janowitz, 2013: 7-8; pers. comm., Stone, L., 2013: 5; pers. comm., Wall, 2013: 33). ‘You’re not more than a couple people away from knowing somebody...it’s a lot closer than people think, three degrees of separation so-to-speak’ (pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 11).

Communication is personality-driven and dependent on attitudes, one CRM archaeologist commented:

...there are a few people that if I needed to share information - and this happened - I would call them or they will call me and ask for a paper or a draft. We share back and forth. Not everyone, to be honest. There are some...that we share completely with and comfortably with. And there are some that you couldn't pay me to call (pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 13).

The beef between individuals is no secret. Personality-clashes are obvious in PANYC meetings: 'Most people have been able to repair personal damage, or just part ways...', says a younger archaeologist, Maclean¹⁷⁴ (pers. comm., 2013: 22). In terms of collaboration, Figure 92 illustrates the results:

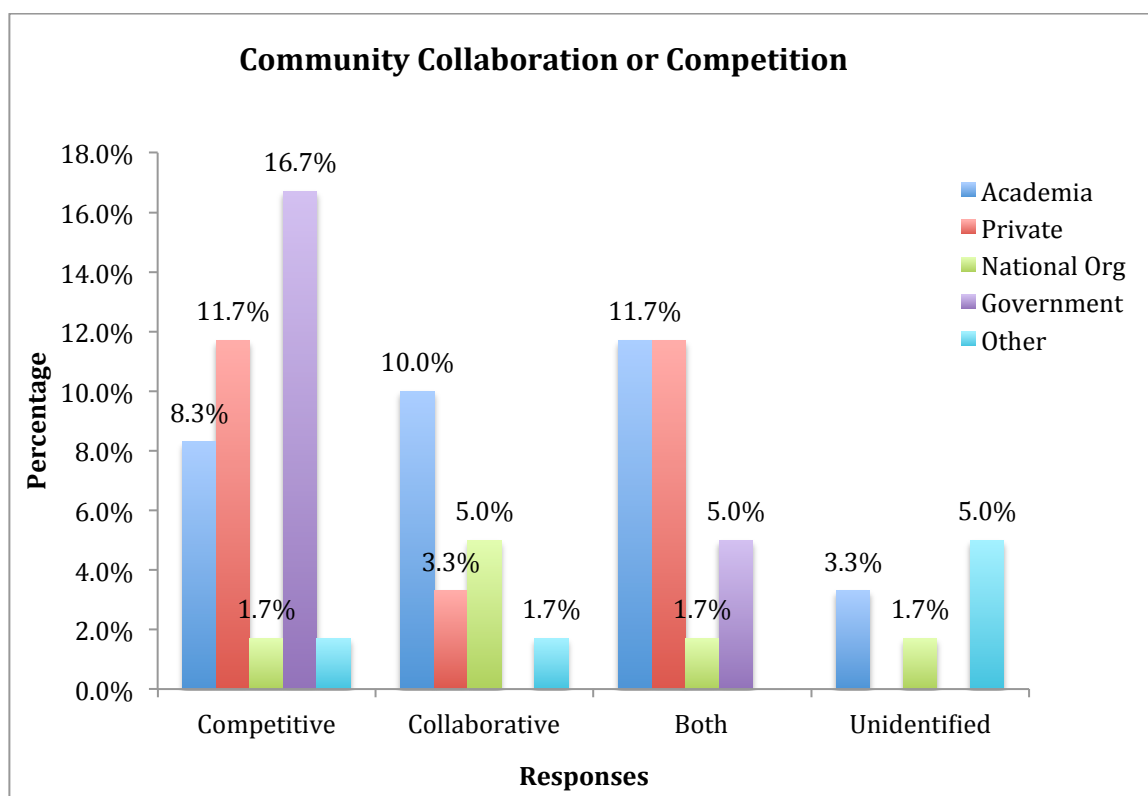


Figure 92 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on community collaborative, competitive or both.¹⁷⁵

What is interesting here is that the government sector sees the community as more competitive, though they are aware that 'you have to be collaborative to survive' (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 53). Sharing is the key component of what succeeds as collaboration in NYC, rather than in London where it could mean working on projects together. The size of the community really does impact collaboration, communication and information flow. The smaller network makes it easier

¹⁷⁴ PhD Candidate at Boston University – Visiting Researcher at Columbia University; Project Director at Little Bay Archaeology and Heritage Project; Archaeology Fellow at the Tenement Museum (2009-2010); Collections Manager at Weeksville Heritage Center (2006-2009)

¹⁷⁵ Option of 'both' available, unlike London

to create channels, but at the same time strong personalities, attitudes and relationships are reflected through these networks. Loorya comments:

It's all word of mouth. Because nobody talks to one another. I tell everybody everything: "oh we're doing this, oh we're doing that" - we should share. When Chris [Ricciardi] was head of PANYC - he does the newsletter for PANYC - he's been begging for almost a year now for someone to write a little paragraph about something current that they're doing. And nobody will do it. I'm the only one who will do it...It's all gossip. It's the only way you know what everyone else is doing because they don't want to talk. We can all help one another. If you've got a great idea I might borrow pieces of it, I'm not going to totally run away and steal it...(pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 10)

Loorya's company Chrysalis Archaeology actually has pushed efforts to make its projects public and keep the public informed. They have set up a blog, a Facebook page, and are in a variety of positive newspaper articles, including the *New York Post*, the *Daily Mail*, *LiveScience.com*, *NBC News*, and *Gizmodo*. Additionally, interviewees who commented on research they know happening in NYC would mention 'Alyssa in Fulton Street'. Chrysalis Archaeology's push for communication and collaboration has clear and successful results.

Sutphin from LPC also comments on the side-effects of a fragmented community, which impacts on archaeologists having a stronger voice:

If there could be more of a community and a consensus that could come together. I kind of feel that the Landmark success has been a hindrance as well, cause I feel like a lot of people feel "Landmarks could do it, or should do it", and then they walk away. And there's only so much three people can do (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 31).

In discussing this research with colleagues, the assumption is that smaller groups are easier to create networks in and easier to build a community. NYC demonstrates that actually smaller groups in a big city environment are equally difficult. The ability to maintain structures for such a small group of people is difficult. There are issues of personality, attitude, motivation, inertia, formalising small channels and networks, and sustaining efforts attract the larger group of archaeologists and stakeholders in NYC. The obvious divide in NYC archaeology is that the larger community – the students, the interns, the younger colleagues, the historic preservationists, and even the NYS community – needs to be pulled in to the small local group currently running NYC archaeology. For example, young and emerging archaeologists in London have a stronger network through social media, and are more tied in with the professional community, when compared with NYC. This is also discussed in Section 7.3.1.4.

7.3.1.2.1 Comparative Study

One of the issues raised is that – similar to London – archaeologists are not tapping into collections and reports at hand. This is not only due to archaeologists, but also because of accessibility to CRM reports, which may be limited in printed number hence not easily accessible for the public (pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 46). Reports are now going online, but still resources are not being tapped into, nor is the bigger picture being addressed (e.g. pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 15-16; pers. comm., Rieth, 2013: 36).

Perazio comments:

There's not the mechanism to allow for synthetic studies. There's not the structure to provide that money. We've got all these sites and all this information - but it's essentially bits of data. You can weave nice stories and interesting things about the individual sites, but the big pay off would be the synthetic work. It simply was not built into the project. This is true everywhere (pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 46).

Developing the bigger picture is a real concern in the US. This can partly be attributed to archaeology coming out of anthropology, which tries to understand bigger patterns in data. Like London, the fact that there is not the money, time, incentive nor the support for comparative work frustrates many archaeologists who feel that the potential and value of the research is not being accomplished.

Publication is overlooked in terms of producing a paper which is more widespread than just technical reports, and gets easily pushed aside after the project is stamped and approved (e.g. pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 7; pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 25; pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 4). While there are publication journals across the country, it would be worthwhile for NYC to have a local platform where projects and research can be shared.¹⁷⁶ Local outlet is a problem: 'It's very odd how little we talk about current archaeology and research going on...almost nothing is published...we don't have those small localised journals' (pers. comm., anon., 2013). It is hard to draw reports and work into a larger network of studies. Both Cantwell and Wall mention that it was a difficult endeavour to put all the pieces together and get their famous publication, *Unearthing Gotham*, completed (pers. comm., Cantwell, 2013: 8; pers. comm., Wall, 2013: 11-12). To know what is happening and to get access, you have to 'be in the loop or have been around enough, and develop the connection and friendships...', something not every interested party can do (pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 17; see also pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 15-16, 20; pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 6; pers. comm., Yamin, 2013: 13). Even publications in conferences are low.

Even though by law archaeologists have to produce a report, as in London, there are some

¹⁷⁶ See <http://nycheritage.com/> which was my personal endeavour in 2009: this kind of platform can be successful and has received supportive and positive emails of its initial aim. The project is currently dormant.

archaeologists who feel that it is about ‘going through the motions’ where you could simply cut and paste aspects of an older report or use other reports bibliography as ‘the clients don’t know’ (pers. comm., anon., 2013). Researchers feel it is a waste of time to rewrite chapters on background, history, previous studies and methodology when they have been ‘written and perfected hundreds of times in other reports’ (pers. comm., anon., 2013). One SHPO reviewer confesses confidentially (pers. comm., anon., 2013) they ‘skip over probably the bulk of what’s in [the report] because it’s copy-paste...[and that] what you need is specific information about the project, not the history of the World part one, two and three’. They speculate on whether it is because the CRM firm can charge the client more.

As in London, reports are based largely on the individual, with guidelines being fairly basic allowing room for variation:

You know, reports are basically very, very individual. So, I’ve seen from both ends: I’ve written them, and I’ve reviewed them from the Corps. It really comes down to the person themselves. There’s a very loose guideline of what’s supposed to be in a report...really it’s through the Fed guidelines. And even the State and the City has general guidelines of what’s supposed to be in a report. Ok, so you need a chapter on your background; you need your history chapter; you need your previous study chapter; you need your field methodology; you need your field results; but it doesn’t say what’s got to be in those chapters. And sometimes they can be very, very detailed, and sometimes they can be half a page. If they’re half a page but you still found five thousand artefacts, that’s a problem (pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 7).

7.3.1.3 Competition

Unlike London archaeology, which as a profession only recently started competitively tendering (Section 4.2.6), NYC does not have as strong an opinion about competition and rivalry, although it clearly exists (see Section 7.3.2.3). Hunter¹⁷⁷ and Burrow,¹⁷⁸ both previously UK archaeologists and now based in New Jersey, comment that:

American archaeologists are fairly collegial. Certainly when you get to a local level like New York. Obviously people, they want to get the job and they don’t want somebody else to get it and stuff, but there’s a lot of communication and people do know each other, and it even works at the National level. Through being in ACRA in particular, I’ve made many wonderful contacts over the whole country, of people who are competitors at least in theory. But people really are quite good at separating the competitiveness from the collegiality. That’s true in New York probably too I think...There’s some collaborative work, it’s more the collegial versus the competitive, and I think there’s a line there where people sort of instinctively know whether they’re being competitive or whether they’re being collegial (pers. comm., Hunter & Burrow, 2013: 42-43).

177 Founder and president of independent archaeology firm Hunter Research Inc. Previously worked in the UK

178 Vice-president and PI of Hunter Research Inc. Previously worked in the UK

Christina Rieth¹⁷⁹ points out:

It really depends upon the situation, it depends upon the resource - there have been a number of situations in New York where the community can be very cohesive, when they find out that a resource is being destroyed, they can certainly come together and be wonderful advocates. There are other situations when everybody wants a piece of the pie, and they can become very competitive. There have certainly been instances where people's firms and their egos have gotten in the way. That often creates a very unfortunate situation for the resource... (pers. comm., Rieth, 2013: 10).

Beyond competing for actual jobs, the community is not competitive, but rather small enough for personal relationships, friendships, socialising, reputation and networks to matter more. In this sense, archaeologists can easily work in isolation in that everyone is doing 'their own thing and in their own corner' (pers. comm., anon., 2013). A lot of the connections are based on 'lineage', or who someone is trained under (see pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 9), however this is not something I observed as creating chasms. Competition between universities, however, is an area worth exploring which is beyond the scope of this paper.

7.3.1.4 A Split in Archaeology: The Fragmented Community

Inevitably this work draws on the notion that the archaeological community is fragmented. It reveals, however, that the level of fragmentation is based on structure, but also personal attitude as well. In NYC, the fragmentation in part is based on sector (discussed in Section 7.2), but what really became apparent is the generation gap. 65% of interviews made a reference to some sort of generation gap, for example through age, different approaches to work, or even topics that are seen as challenges to raise or not (see also PIA, 2014). There is no obvious relationship between sectors and their view on generation, however we see from the chart below how different age brackets view the gap (Figure 93).

179 State Archaeologist and Director of the Cultural Resource Survey Program at the New York State Museum

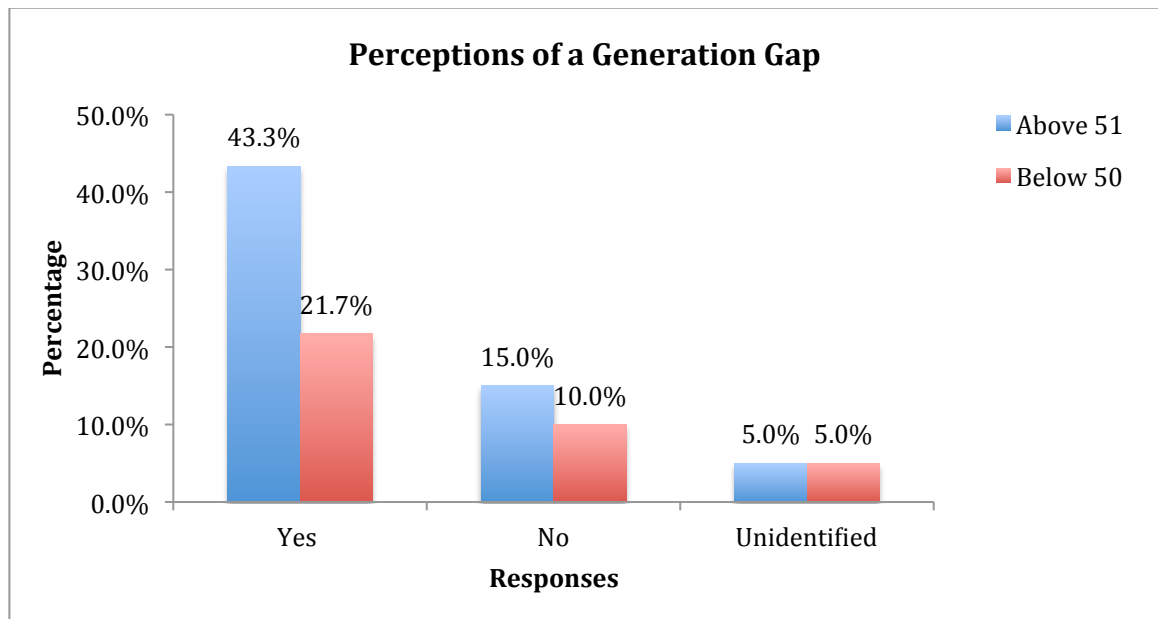


Figure 93 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on the presence of a generation gap

The results show that the recognition of a generation gap is from both elder and younger archaeologists. As presented earlier (2.8.2.2), a majority of interviewees are aged well over 50; the remaining are actually within their late 30s or 40s. I did not succeed in getting in the loop with any younger archaeologists: they were not present at PANYC meetings, nor they did not participate in the survey. They are also not mentioned by most of the 60 individuals interviewed. One NYC archaeologist comments:

People in their mid-40s are considered the newbies. The majority of the people in the city are over 55, and they all went to school together, and they all had the same professors and they all worked together. And then there's a big gap. And then there's a couple of newbies, 40 to 45 year olds, and then there's really no one behind them, at all (pers. comm., anon., 2013)

Another NYC archaeologist comments:

...there is a definite generation divide between those who fought the fight in the 70s and 80s to legitimise archaeology, and all of the up-starts who are benefitting, reaping all the benefits from them! It's like, really? Aren't we all too old and too tired to deal with that crap [of who fought the battles for who]? (pers. comm., anon., 2013)

For the sake of not revealing identity, it is worth paraphrasing a general consensus among the younger archaeologists. Functionally, they feel they are more team-oriented than the older generation, which they suggest is very individual-oriented. While they insist they try to understand the generational differences, even between archaeologists in the city, they comment that it can get frustrating because the urban context has changed greatly from the mindset and

battles of the 1970s.

There is less and less archaeology happening in this city every day, even though there is still a tonne of research to do, both in terms of academic and in terms of CRM. We've been digging in areas that just absolutely was supposed to be devoid of all archaeology, and we have hit mother-loads of archaeology...all the time things are coming up! So, the myth that everything's been done, is just that, it's a myth (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

One of the biggest frustrations is that archaeologists feel that attitudes have to change. Brian Yates, when asked if he notices a generational gap, responds:

[It's] a very legitimate observation, I've made it myself. Colleagues that I've worked with, there is a generational difference on how things are seen...Yes, there is a generational difference with just processes, but I think the folks who went to school in the 70s, the major paradigms that were taught at the time - those guys, they're truly academics and they're academics that work in a bureaucratic structured environment. Academic archaeology and CRM archaeology are different. And you cannot approach CRM as an academic. You can't. You don't have the luxury, you don't have the time, you don't have the funding. Being a bureaucrat, not an archaeologist but a bureaucrat, I'm making decisions. I'm making decisions on what we need to pursue and what we don't need to pursue, based on my experience as an archaeologist. Based on my experience as a bureaucrat. There's a lot of decision-making (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 44).

The younger generation sense that the elder one is not valuing their work, and not understanding that the socio-political environment has changed and consequently changed how archaeologists work. While fighting those who want to see regulatory bodies that protect the historic environment weakened, they simultaneously feel that they are battling internally to justify that CRM, for example, offers a lot to the profession.

On the other side, as illustrated in Figure 93, the elder generation equally feel there is a gap and also have frustrations: one in particular is what they consider young out-of-college graduates getting a position where they are inexperienced and do not have the knowledge or skills yet to properly assess and judge situations. Again, confidentially, one elder archaeologist comments:

Inevitably, [archaeology] became a profit-making operation, and each generation that becomes involved, more and more you have them not so much in the academic perspective, but coming into it as shovelbums. That's what their basic experience is. And then they supposedly move up to higher and higher responsibility, but have experienced archaeology only through the lens of CRM rather than through the lens of research (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

Deborah Cox (pers. comm., 2013: 24; see also pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 10) also mentions this is an issue beyond NYC, giving examples of other states in New England:

Not all, but many times, you talk to somebody just out of school who has no clue,

absolutely no clue, why we're even doing what we're doing and wants to sort of apply standards they learned in fieldschool to what you're doing.

Generation separation is one of the main splits observed. As mentioned earlier, there are also splits in the community such as the tensions between academia and CRM, however I do not present them any further here as they are repetitive discourse already addressed earlier in this research. They also inevitably come up in discussion again as further perceptions on values and the organisational landscape of contemporary archaeology are presented below (Section 7.3.2).

7.3.2 *Standards, Values and Professionalisation*

After a contract has been won, the issue of standards in the city takes on a different form from London, and focuses a lot on reports rather than monitoring excavations or the enforcement of standards during the excavation. In that sense, the excavations are generally measured by their output. As discussed earlier (Section 1.4.2 and 1.4.3 for professionalisation and progression, and Section 5.3.2 for examples in London), we can see how the issue of standards has an impact on how the profession develops but more importantly how it affects the image of archaeology, as well as the willingness to pay for quality work (see Section 7.3.2.3).

Schuldenrein, Director of a NYC CRM firm, comments:

[Archaeology is] very expensive. Everything in this city is expensive. So that if a developer can cut corners, they will cut the corners. And if they can get away with not complying with the law, they will do that. Because they still haven't accepted this as a serious profession, and they haven't even accepted it as part of the regulatory process. So if it goes away, which it has in the past, because of political deals, they'd rather do that. And when it doesn't go away, that's when you have the worst situation because it's the last item on the approval totem pole. Then you become a huge pain in the ass. And sometimes they would rather fight you then let you do your work. When you do your work, they want to minimise it and it goes to the lowest bidder or the flimsiest operation. If the regulatory agency is playing hardball, and they will on occasion, then it becomes a real problem because then it has to be dealt with and it does cost (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 12).

If we unpick Schuldenrein's comment, we see that standards are tied in with expense, compliance, the regulatory process, bidders lowering costs, corner cutting, and a generally low status in the ladder of planning permissions. We see a replica of this in the London case study. In this section, I focus briefly on values changing and the harm of underbidding, without repeating concepts already explored in the London chapter (although they may still apply).

7.3.2.1 Shifting Values

Understanding changes in values and standards are more complicated in NYC than in London because we are dealing with a very small group of individuals and a culture that is not as direct and critical of one another, openly at least. I observed this first in 2008 when circulating the project proposal mentioned in Chapter 1: the same proposal that was circulated in London had been edited to be less ‘effusive’ and ‘more positive’, avoiding words such as ‘problems’ and ‘challenges’. So while participants see obstacles and voice them, they simultaneously have a positive outlook.

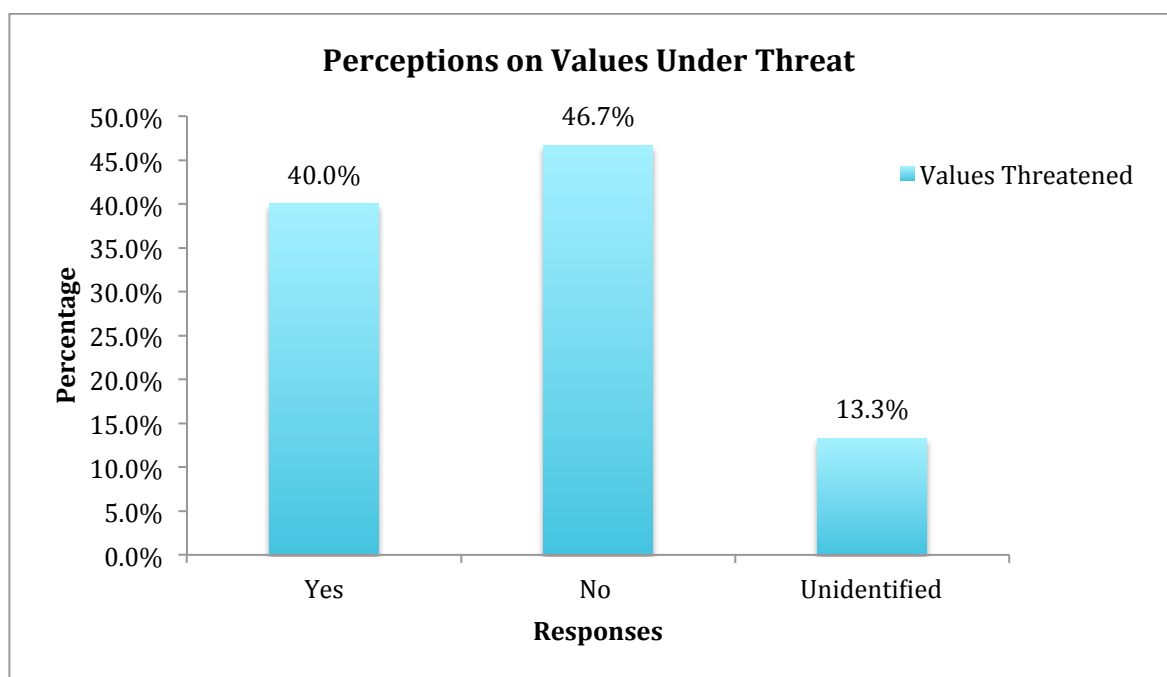


Figure 94 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on whether values are threatened

We see from Figure 94 that 46.7% do not see values as being threatened, with 40% believing they are. Survey results scored five participants responding they are and one responding they are not. Because urban archaeology only really took off in the 1970s in NYC, archaeologists know well that in relation to the pre-1970s, values have improved. In this sense, the results above are contextualised. Those who refer to national government and Congress, and the shrinking of resources and funds, perceive values as under threat; those that refer to NYC as an isolated context perceive values as not threatened despite being impacted by the realities of real-estate, politics, money and its position on the scale of other social needs.

Kent Barwick, when asked whether he feels values are shifting, responds:

I think it's true across the board that people are more quiet, not just in archaeology. It may not be complacency as much as diminished expectations. I think we're living in the period of time where people in government hold themselves in low esteem, and the public agrees, so they're securing that not much can be accomplished...I think there's a general feeling that there's not much we can do, which is absurd. Think of the things that have been done in terms of making change and public works or changing history - I think that things generally go in circles and I bet they'll come back. We're in a bad time now and I think that cuts across...the economy requires government action and leadership, but the public is weary of it, and the people in government are equally weary of it. I think that will change...The public ought to realise the value of the programme (pers. comm., Barwick, 2013: 14)

Archaeologists ought to realise the value of their work. 50% of participants from interviews suggest that the archaeology profession undervalues itself (Figure 95). Although it is true that 40% do not think it undervalues itself, 50% of the workforce undervaluing itself is enough to have a considerable impact on how archaeology is projected to government, clients and the general public.

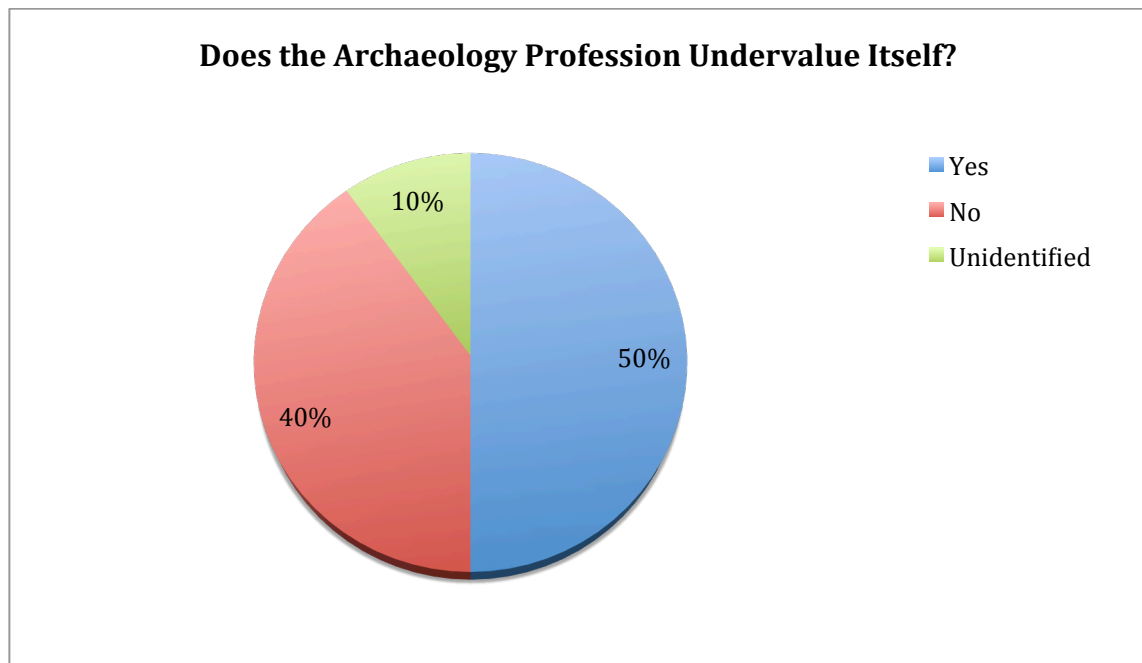


Figure 95 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on archaeology undervaluing itself

Going back to Jameson's 'minimalist mentality' mentioned earlier (Section 7.3.1.1.2), we see how values have shifted on those grounds. Jameson comments:

I think in a way it's a self-fulfilling prophecy, if you're in this minimalist mentality - which I call it - and you're in it for a period of time, you begin to have minimalist mentalities running things. And you have people that are just resigned to a reduced existence, reduced programmes - and they don't count at tables like they should be at

the Washington level. We still have a very big and complex government, and there's a big pie – it's in the trillion - and that pie is divided and it's a matter of priorities on how it's divided...In the US, the Congress authorises all of the National Parks that we manage, so we have to deal with them and we have to play the political game and right now it's just not working out to our advantage with the appropriations to keep up. On the other side...when the government shut down and they started to close National Parks, there was such a public outcry¹⁸⁰ - and Congress never contemplates that anymore, although in fact, we are coming close to that in some cases because there aren't enough people there...When you have this minimalist mentality that is allowed to continue, it's going to have permanent effects (pers. comm., Jameson, 2013: 12).

The concept of threatened values and minimalist mentalities – or streamlining – also ties in with the perception that archaeology is a movement or something that is fought for. This is discussed in Section 7.3.3.3.2; but briefly here, one of the main concerns is that archaeologists now choose battles, rather than fearlessly pushing for a voice, which was more the attitude in the 1970s (for London as well) (Figure 96).

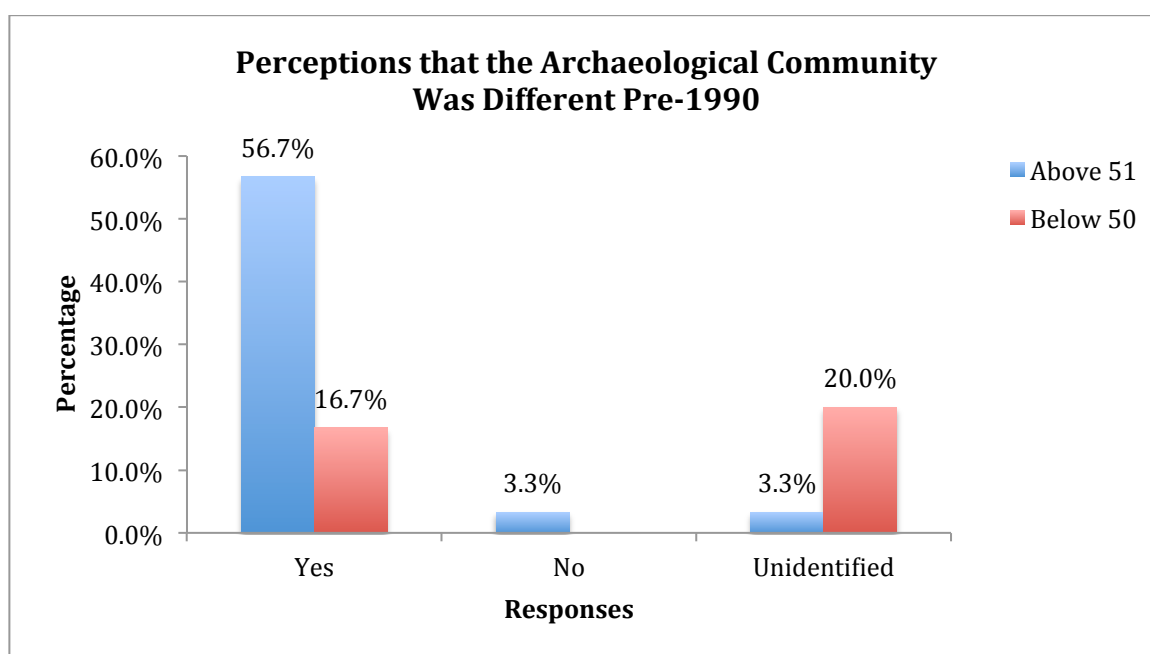


Figure 96 NYC Interviews: Responses to whether archaeology has changed since the 1970s

Of course it is common knowledge that things were different before the 1990s, however what I try to tease out is what *aspects* were different, i.e. motivations, a sense of camaraderie, the push to fight systems, and so on. In London findings indicated a stronger sense of nostalgia than in NYC: NYC results do not present a strong perception that there is a 'spark gone' (38.3% say there is; 28.3% say there is not; remaining unidentified). This may be due to a majority of archaeologists still feeling that historic preservation and archaeology are movements in an on-going struggle (50% of interviews coded as perceiving archaeology as a movement while 35% did not; 15%

180 Note the importance of public outcry

unidentified). Janowitz (pers. comm., 2013: 8) comments, for example, that during the early decades, there was ‘a feeling of camaraderie...it was definitely a feeling of solidarity and fun’.¹⁸¹ Overall, the key shifts in value have to do with support (discussed in Section 7.3.1): wavering support from government, laws being broken despite huge battles and struggles to create and maintain them, and issues of archaeology becoming more business-oriented are all areas which – like London – make archaeologists question their own values. The impact and consequences of these issues are discussed in previous chapters (Chapters 2 and 5) and are addressed in the coming chapter.

7.3.2.2 Changes in Standards

The results from both interviews and the survey suggest NYC archaeologists view standards are not decreasing (Figure 97).

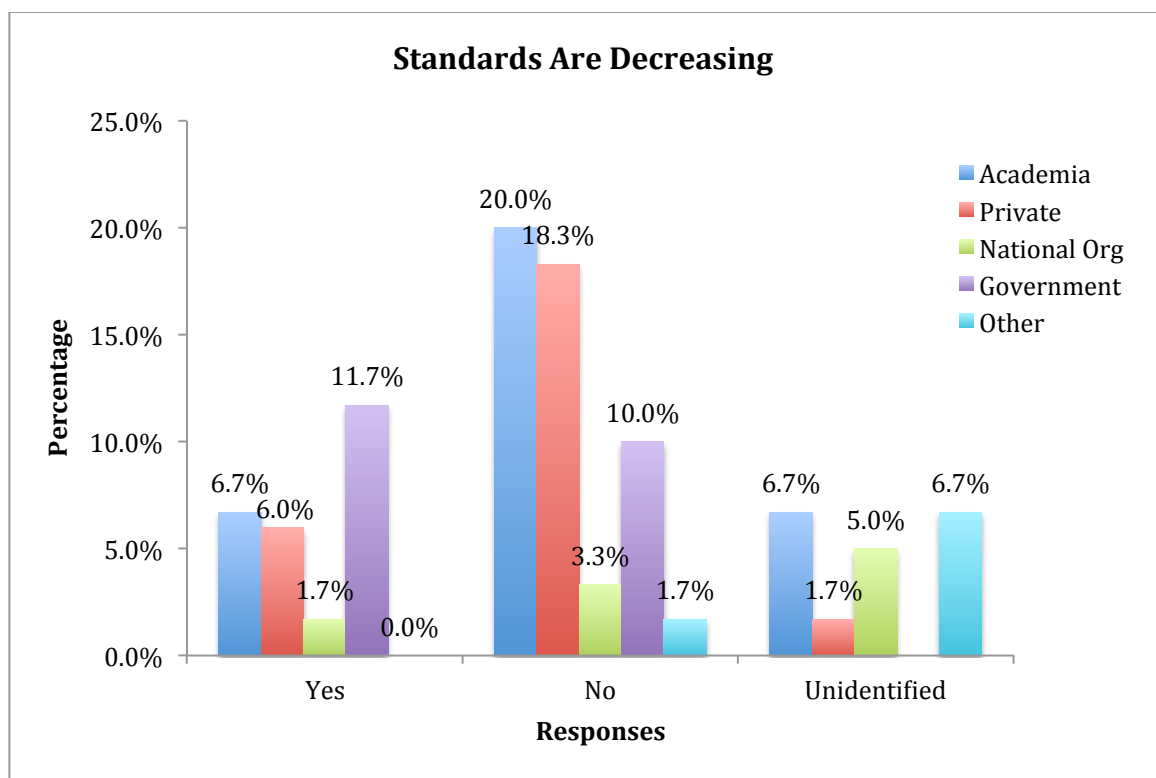


Figure 97 NYC Interviews: Results to whether standards are decreasing or not

53.3% of interviewees comment that standards are improving. Participants from the government

¹⁸¹ Similar comment and terminology used in London Chapter (see Section 4.2.4; e.g. pers. comm., Perring, 2013: 61 and Section 5.3.2.1; e.g. pers. comm., Cotton, 2012: 28)

sector are split into two camps, with 11.7% saying they have decreased against 10% saying they have not. These perceptions have to do with access to information, and also having a greater awareness at a national level context. NYC archaeologists tend to understand standards from in terms of report content, which has improved significantly:

We laugh when we look at our own reports, just from ten years ago! Not only technologically of course - the graphics are better, the presentation and the photos are better - but the fact that we're going into more depth when we discuss resources and what they can mean, and putting them in an ever-widening context, and addressing research questions. Part of it is, of course, the stringency in the review agency, the requirements. But also the reading and comparative work - because now we're looking at what Philadelphia are coming out with, or Boston or Baltimore - so we're looking at what other urban centres are doing. Everyone's reports are vastly improving (pers. comm., Saunders, 2013: 8).

On the other hand, a majority of interviewees are equally aware that a lot of sub-standard work continues, so while improvement is widespread, it is not universal (Figure 98).

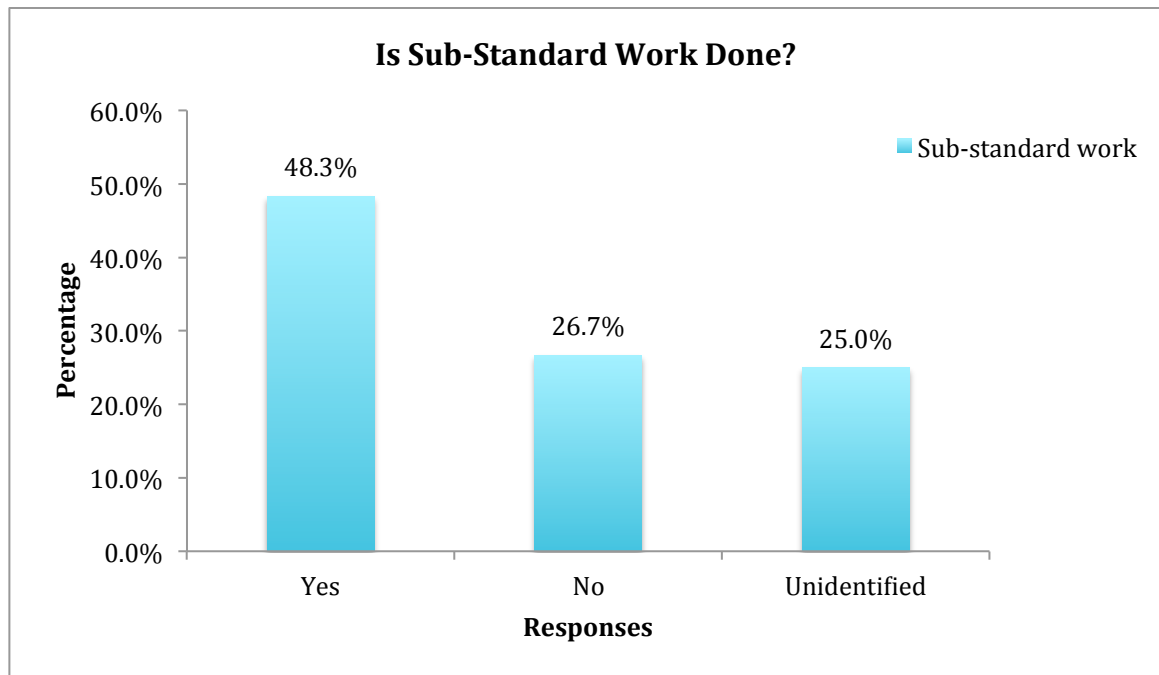


Figure 98 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on whether sub-standard work continues in the field

Archaeologists feel and see improvement: their work is improving, reports they are reading are improving; and their techniques are improving. They generally do not tie in issues of external support or funding with level of standards, and so sub-standard work is often seen more as a personal practice from individuals rather than related to the greater structures of the profession (e.g. pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 9; pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 7; pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 2). This may be due to the profession not having moved away from being a state-funded profession (as in London); but having grown out of academia, which has its own issues about

delayed publication, sub-standard work, and insularity. The individualistic approach to standards ties in with reputation and having the mindset to approach projects without a minimalist perception.

Government archaeologists review work on this basis, says CRM archaeologist:

They'll know that person and they'll know that they usually like that man or woman's work, and they look at another report, and they know that they usually don't like that man or woman's work. So they'll be more rigorous: somebody they like and they respect, they'll quickly just give it a once over maybe, the others they might be more rigorous (pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 7).

Government archaeologists tend to link it with external circumstances such as support and existing structures. SHPO reviewer Perazio points out:

I think in our present society, there's a much bigger crisis economically. Things are going downhill, archaeology is a frivolity - except for pet projects on occasion - but as long as that sort of regime continues - I suppose that's also why the quality of work is going down, because nobody who has the power gives a damn (pers. comm., Perazio, 2013: 50).

Concerns of the development-led industry and archaeology are not really tied in the same category as standards in NYC. Standards are about performance, technique and methodology in doing a job, which is a decision and choice undertaken by the individual, not forced into by the existing structures in place. Because there was never NYC archaeology prior to CRM (unlike London under state archaeology), which had that greater uniformity or innovative community, it is difficult for NYC archaeologists to criticise the development and improvement of standards now that it is separate from academia.

7.3.2.3 Underbidding Versus Professionalisation

As discussed earlier, underbidding is very disruptive to the development and progression of archaeology in a variety of ways. In London, we saw that underbidding was tied to competitive tendering. In NYC, underbidding is not linked with the process of competitive tendering, but to the fact that agencies in many cases are required to take the lowest bid (e.g. pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 11). In some instances, competitive bidding is not required in the contract and instead the job will go to the bidder who has an existing relationship with the agent in question, or the company supported by the mayor. In the situation where competitive bidding is required, the award *must go to the lowest responsible bidder* as stated in the statute or city charter:

The agency letting the contract may reject all bids if it shall deem it for the interest of

the city to do so; if not, it shall, without other consent or approval, award the contract to the lowest responsible bidder, unless the mayor shall determine in writing, justifying the reasons therefor, that it is in the best interest of the city that a bid other than that of the lowest responsible bidder shall be accepted (N.Y.NYC. Law § 313: NY Code – Section 313: Competitive sealed bidding).

CRM archaeologist confirms:

All City projects are obligated to go by low bidder. And not only that, the City almost never hires the archaeologist. The archaeologist is almost always hired by the construction company. They're also going to take the lowest bidder. The lowest of the lowest. There are some city projects that go out to bid multiple times because certain city agencies would make an estimate of how much they think a job should cost, and then they want these low bids, and get back bids that are higher... (pers. comm., Loorya, 2013: 25).

This process is detrimental as it forces contractors to push prices lower, regardless of their built reputation or suitability for the job. There are exceptions: sometimes the contract might have limitations the bidder has to take into account, such as schedule or conducting archaeological coverage of the site (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 16), but these are easy for any bidder to change in proposals.

Underbidding is a major issue:

some people have referred to it as the cheapening of archaeology or the race to the bottom, where cost outweighs everything...what we see are smaller firms that are trying hard to survive and they will underbid and continually underbid [which could mean] legitimate more professional more advanced firms are going to be driven out of business (pers. comm., Versaggi, 2013: 8).

CRM archaeology in NYC is both difficult and based on job-insecurity (pers. comm., anon., 2013):

...if you're lucky you can make money...many firms I worked with now have in-house archaeology departments, which narrows possibilities for the independent contractor, and often, even when you have a job, payment can be a hassle (pers. comm., Geismar, 2013: 9-10).

Another contractor comments confidentially:

...people don't pay even though they owe me money. Whereas the big companies, if somebody's doing a major job and there's major financing...they pay...That has become somewhat of a problem (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

NYC archaeology relies predominantly on small independent CRM companies, so driving costs down can easily make them go out of business, and change the organisational landscape. Consequences are the loss of local knowledge; pushing CRM firm services to become only

technical-based meaning they simply answer whether archaeology is present or not; and recording descriptively and not offering further interpretative or community value.

Guidelines and standards are both loose and based on minimum requirements. But supposing there are guidelines for best practice, there is no way to penalise or enforce standards:

...if you get a survey report and there's over 300 shovel tests dug, and they recover no cultural material, I find it very difficult to go dig 300 shovel tests anywhere and not find any cultural material. And so, when I see nothing is recovered, that raises a red flag to me. But what can I do about it? I can keep my eye on reports coming from that company, and if I see a pattern - which I have...I read two reports in one day from the same company just a few weeks ago. Two hundred plus shovel tests in one report, and 300 plus tests in another report: no cultural material was recovered. That makes me scratch my head. But what can I do about it? (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 17).

The importance and impossibility of policing archaeology or in some way enforcing standards is a contentious issue. In NYC, the bodies that may play a role in this are under immense amounts of pressure politically, and because their comments are already advisory, they feel they can do little besides reject reports, which does little in proactive terms of addressing the issue.

7.3.2.3.1 Enforcement and Discipline

PANYC, as NYC's professional body, does not involve itself with anything other than promoting the communication and cooperation between archaeologists and relevant agencies, and writing campaign letters. As symbolic as their role is to the city's archaeology, they do little to fulfil the generic roles involved in a professional body detailed in Chapter 1. NYAC, on the other hand, is central to writing standards and holding different bodies accountable for violating the law. However it is the RPA's role to act as a disciplinary body to contractors, and as discussed earlier (Section 7.2.2.3) this is a difficult process.

The mechanism to improve practice through enforcement is not strong: peers do not review one another; training programmes for a one-man band prove unpopular and costly; monitoring is at a low due to low staff and resources; and disciplinary action is rare.

The politics of professionals policing their own has proven to be very complicated as well. Naming and shaming does not work (e.g. pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 40; pers. comm., Ricciardi, 2013: 10); even if it does get to the point of an archaeologist or firm being sanctioned, nothing really happens (pers. comm., Morin, 2013: 11).

7.3.3 *The Role of the Individual and The Importance of Networking*

Individuals play a very strong and dominant role in NYC archaeology. As we have seen above, academia is built by a handful of individuals without much institutional support; CRM firms are small and independent; government bodies are individuals within a context that focuses on landmarks or historic preservation. There are only a few instances when participants mention larger organisations, and this was predominantly when referring to larger government bodies/agencies such as SHPO, USACE, or the NPS; other examples are when referring to national or state archaeological organisations. In this section, we explore the role of individuals further.

Much of the data on individuals had initially been sought through the survey for both case studies, however poor NYC survey participation has meant – like most of the NYC results – data is based from interviews and observational research.

7.3.3.1 The Individual

One of the first points is illustrated in Figure 99 below.

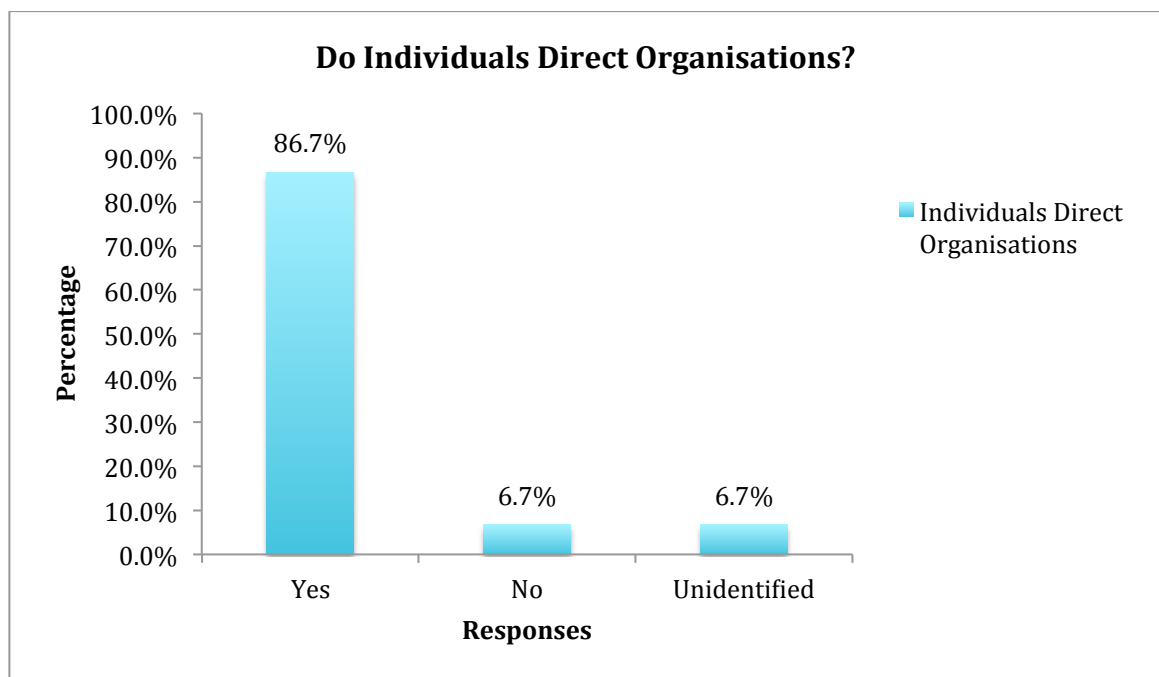


Figure 99 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on whether individuals direct organisations

86.7% of interviewees believe that individuals are the key driver in all aspects of change,

direction and development. This may be from the US being an individualist culture. Two archaeologists are coded as ‘no’ because in their interviews (a) they did not focus on individual names and anecdotes based on individuals; (b) spoke of organisations by name more than referring to individuals in charge; (c) may have discussed teamwork and institutional structures more than other interviewees. Regardless, these results highlight a strong difference from London, where institutional affiliation, branding, reputation and grouping are significantly more important. However it also implies that organised collectivism (anchored or affiliated to an institution to provide weight or strength) is a lot more difficult.

Focusing further on individuals, results from the survey requesting a selection of individuals who fit the attributes below are presented in Figure 100. They are ordered by name mentioned most to least.¹⁸²

- Leading figure in the development of the profession (a)
- An important part of change (b)
- A critical or key individual (c)
- Irreplaceable (d)
- A public figure (e)
- An individual who knows practically everything happening in NYC (f)
- Influential to NY archaeology as a whole (g)

We see from results that there are only a handful of individuals, generally repeated throughout each category. The most apparent are Diana Wall and Nan Rothschild, confirming observational data: many of my interviews to various archaeologists were forwarded to both Wall and Rothschild.

Another finding from the data is column (f) *questions of being a source of information* and (g) *having strong influence*, are dominated by individuals in government positions: Sutphin (LPC City Archaeology) and Mackey (previous reviewer at SHPO). Sherene Baugher is also included in these two columns: Baugher was a prominent figure in LPC before Sutphin. This suggests that in areas of influence and information access, the SHPO and LPC are seen as key players.

Individuals Named In Survey

a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Diana Wall	Bert Salwen/ Nan Rothschild/ Bert	Nan Rothschild	Ralph Solecki	Ralph Solecki	Amanda Sutphin	Doug Mackey
Nan Rothschild/ Bert		Ralph Solecki/ Diana	Bert Salwen	Nan Rothschild/ Diana	Joan Geismar/ Diana	Ralph Solecki

¹⁸² There are only five participants in this survey

Salwen	Diana	Wall/		Wall/	Wall	
Ralph	Wall/	Joan	Nan	Anne-Marie	Sherene	Nan
Solecki	Joan	Geismar/	Rothschild/	Cantwell/	Baughner/	Rothschild/
Meta	Geismar/	Doug	Ed Rutsch/	Amanda	Linda	Sherene
Janowitz/	Diane	Mackey/	Diana	Sutphin/	Stone/	Baughner/
Louis	Dallal	Christina	Wall/	Ivor Noel	Doug	Diana Wall/
Brennan		Rieth	Joan	Hume/	Mackey/	Charles
			Geismar	Stanley	Richard	Hayes/
				South/	Schaefer/	James
				Louis	Meta	Bradley/
				Brennan	Janowitz/	Robert
					Ralph	Schuyler/
					Solecki/	Charlie
					Arthur	Bello/
					Bankoff	Charlie
						Hayes/
						Arthur
						Parker

Figure 100 NYC Survey: Results rating social attributes of NYC archaeologists

Individuals presented in Figure 100 are prominent because they are seen as people who paved the way, fought battles, defended cultural resources and stood up against the grain. They showed leadership traits. We can see in Figure 101 and Figure 102 that leadership is regarded highly. Confidentially I was told particular individuals could ‘rally people around them and have the kind of personality that could walk into a room and sway the people’, while others do not ‘have that strength’ (pers. comm., anon., 2013). Other interviews mention the impact of organisations through the leadership of individuals (examples include NYU department under Salwen and LPC under Baughner). John Jameson comments:

I’ve worked in this office since the late 80s, and depending on who the director is here, you’re steered in a direction of being more inclusive and more thinking out of the box, to being very narrow in the attitude of what this archaeological center staff should be doing or involved with (pers. comm., Jameson, 2013: 8).

Speaking to some of the pioneers who are known to have led the development of NYC archaeology (e.g. interviews include Rothschild, Baughner, Wall, and Huey), my observation is that they have strong characters and personalities. Nan Rothschild comments:

I’m not normally a confrontational person but in defence of archaeology, at least in those situations, I was very outspoken. I didn’t fold (pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 13).

Like London, the 70s and 80s are characteristic of a lot of strong and dominant personalities. These personalities would challenge the establishment, or even new ‘power-bases’: it was

mentioned that, for example, Bert Salwen and LPC had rivalry as his leadership shifted to LPC, leading to some subtle and simple flexing of muscles (pers. comm., Boesch, 2013: 5).

While leadership was a key attribute during the 1960s, 1970s and onwards when archaeologists were fighting battles of recognition, it will be interesting to see how these positions are filled when the elder generation retire and make the ‘space’ available.

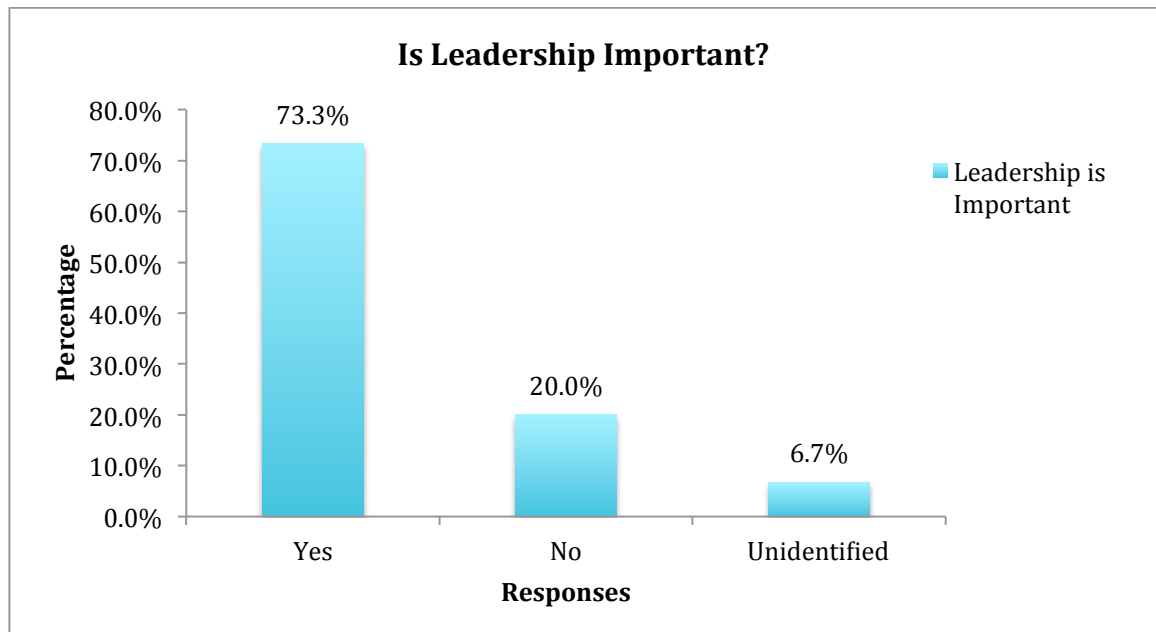


Figure 101 NYC Interviews: Leadership of individuals

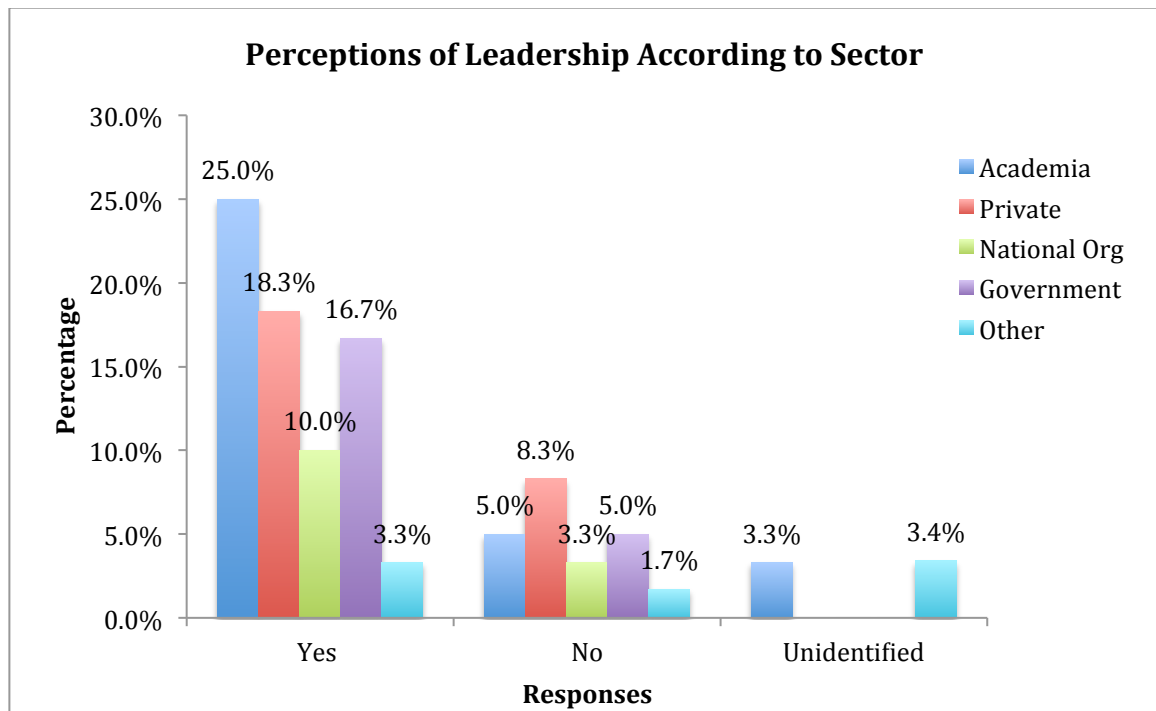


Figure 102 NYC Interviews: Sector perception on leadership

Chris Matthews,¹⁸³ an academic, comments:

I know there are younger people coming in, and most of the younger people are either students of Nan, maybe some of Diana, or they worked for the bigger firms and have kind of been the person who does archaeology for New York. So there is sort of a very clear generational stratum at the top. They are older now, some are pushing 70. I never thought about it till now, it's like they've always been there so they will always be there...they're all active and they all still work. So until they say I'm done, I have no idea what will happen (pers. comm., Matthews, 2013: 3-4).

There is no doubt that the organisational landscape of NYC will change once a handful of key individuals retire. More particularly, there is concern as to the influence that these individuals have within academia, and their role to keep archaeology recognised in those institutions. The concern for a loss of local knowledge and the supply of trained replacements are discussed later in Section 7.3.3.3.

7.3.3.1.1 Social Attributes of Power in Archaeology

On the next page, Figure 103 presents the responses from the survey which indicate which social attributes of power are important to NYC archaeologist. Unlike London, participants gave most

¹⁸³ Currently professor of Anthropology at Montclair State University

importance to a person of legitimacy or authority, followed by referent, then control over resources, and finally expertise.

We see in Figure 104 that referent power and expertise scored highest in terms level, as ‘most important’ attribute; however authority/legitimacy and control over resources rated highest in number under ‘very important’. Interestingly, expertise also rated very high as ‘not so important’, which is surprising considering archaeology should value expertise highly.

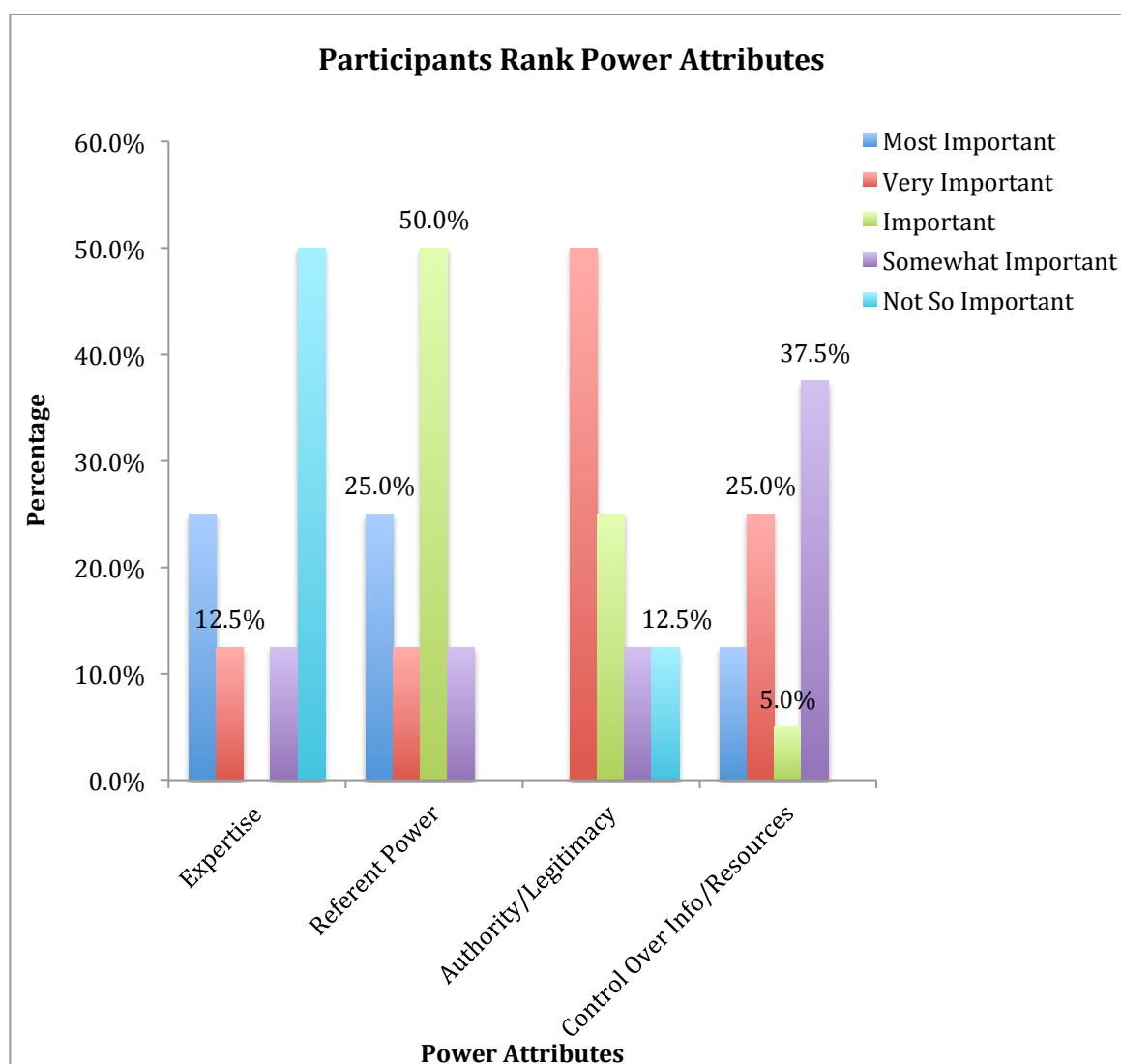


Figure 103 NYC Survey: Results of how social attributes are ranked

Ranking of Power Attributes of Most Important According to Sector				
Ranked	Private	Government	National Org	Museums

1	Control	Expertise	Referent	Referent
2	Referent	Authority	Expertise	Authority
3	Authority	Referent	Authority	Control
4	Expertise	Control	Control	Expertise

*Figure 104 NYC Survey: Ranking according to sector.*¹⁸⁴

We observe that social attributes considered most important are relevant to the role and responsibility each sector is affiliated with. Commercial, for example, scores control of information as highest because their role is related to gathering, creating, and providing information. Government consider expertise highest because their role is to advise and monitor the execution of archaeology and value insightful information and standards. National organisations and museums value referent, as a lot of their networks are based on the establishment of reputation.

Interviews were coded to see whether participants suggest that reputation matters: it is mostly CRM firms and government, as illustrated in Figure 105, that discuss how reputation affects the level of scrutiny a firm may receive from the SHPO or LPC. Academics, however, did not appear to make any comments regarding reputation: their primary concern is about access to and tapping into resources (see Section 7.3.1.2.1). Also, perhaps their reputation is inherent in their academic position already.

184 Note lack of academia results – due to no results

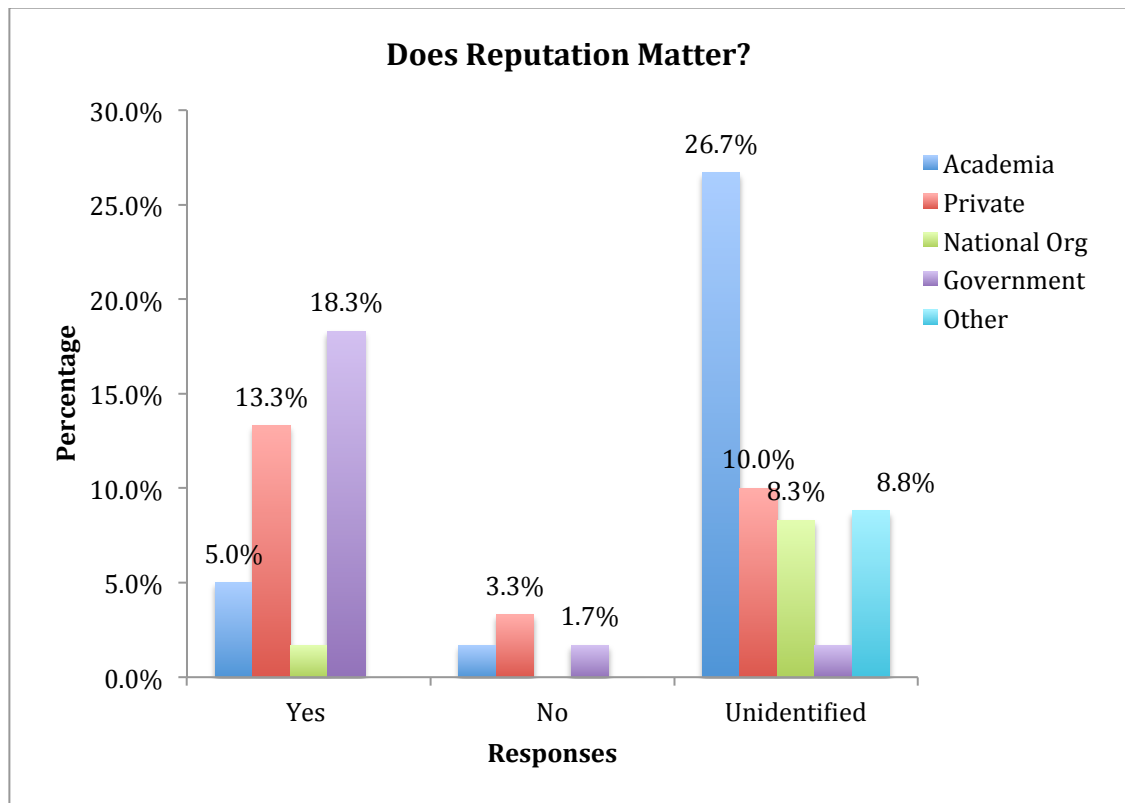


Figure 105 NYC Interviews: Perceptions on reputation

7.3.3.2 Networking and Interaction

We now know that the structure in NYC is based on individual, personal relationships that are predominantly informal. There is neither necessity nor inclination for anyone apart from SHPO or LPC (depending on jurisdiction) to formally contact any other archaeologist. There are no requirements to be involved with neither PANYC nor NYAC; nor are there broader competitive incentives to be involved with public participatory programmes (which we see in London). This makes participants rely heavily on informal networks and networking (Figure 106).

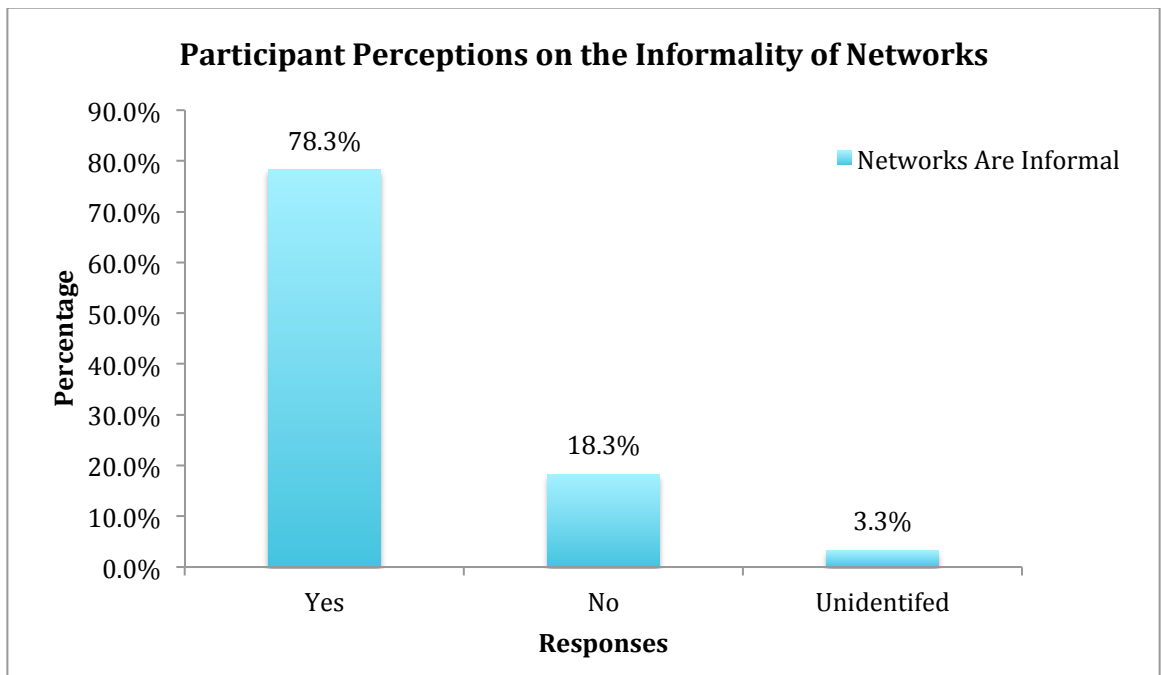


Figure 106 NYC Interviews: Dominance of informal networks

Unpacked further, it is the government sector that relies on formal networks more than any other, rating it equally to the importance of informal relationships (Figure 107; see pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 55).

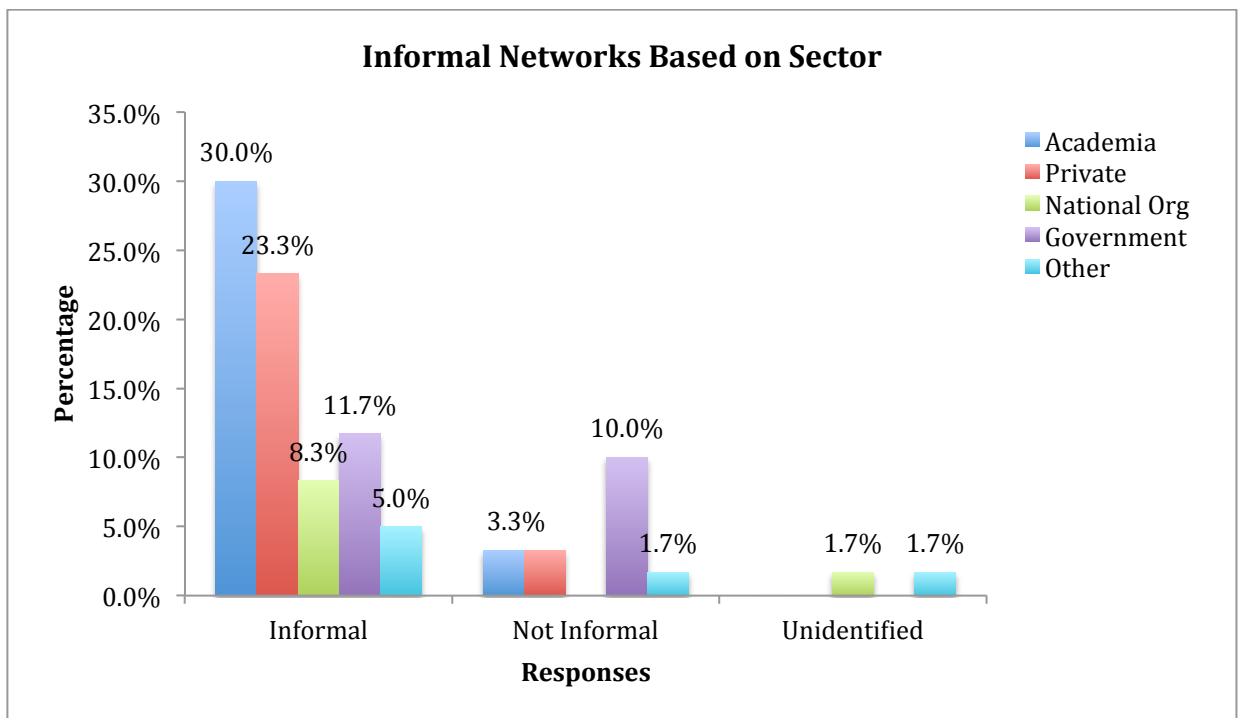


Figure 107 NYC interviews: Sector perceptions on informal versus formal networking

Relationships in NYC are on a one-to-one basis: the networks are based on trust and there is also an element of having a past together, i.e. a lot of these people know each other for a long time (e.g. pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 11). The community, network and relationships are largely local, individual and informal.

7.3.3.2.1 Who Networks

Here I consider ‘who networks’ from an angle of ‘who does not network’. As mentioned, the considerably small community of NYC archaeologists, with the age bracket and that split discussed earlier (Section 7.3.1.4), highlights a big concern in terms of where the younger archaeologists are and why they have not – or cannot – infiltrate the professional community. This is not something that can be answered in this research, but is a very critical point to highlight.

Allan Gilbert mentions that:

...if you’re a newcomer, you might need to be introduced by someone who’s in the knowledgeable crowd. Within the loop (pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 11).

It seems relatively easy to get ‘in the loop’, as I personally experienced. The cause that younger archaeologists do not might be related to a lack of incentive, reason, or motivation to be involved. We see from Figure 108 and Figure 109 that 65% of those interviewed feel they are included in the archaeological NYC loop. Schuldenrein, for example, talks about becoming a ‘real insider’ after having ‘felt like such an outsider: it’s all about who you know and how you’ve networked and what committees you’ve been on...that is how it gets done’ (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 29).

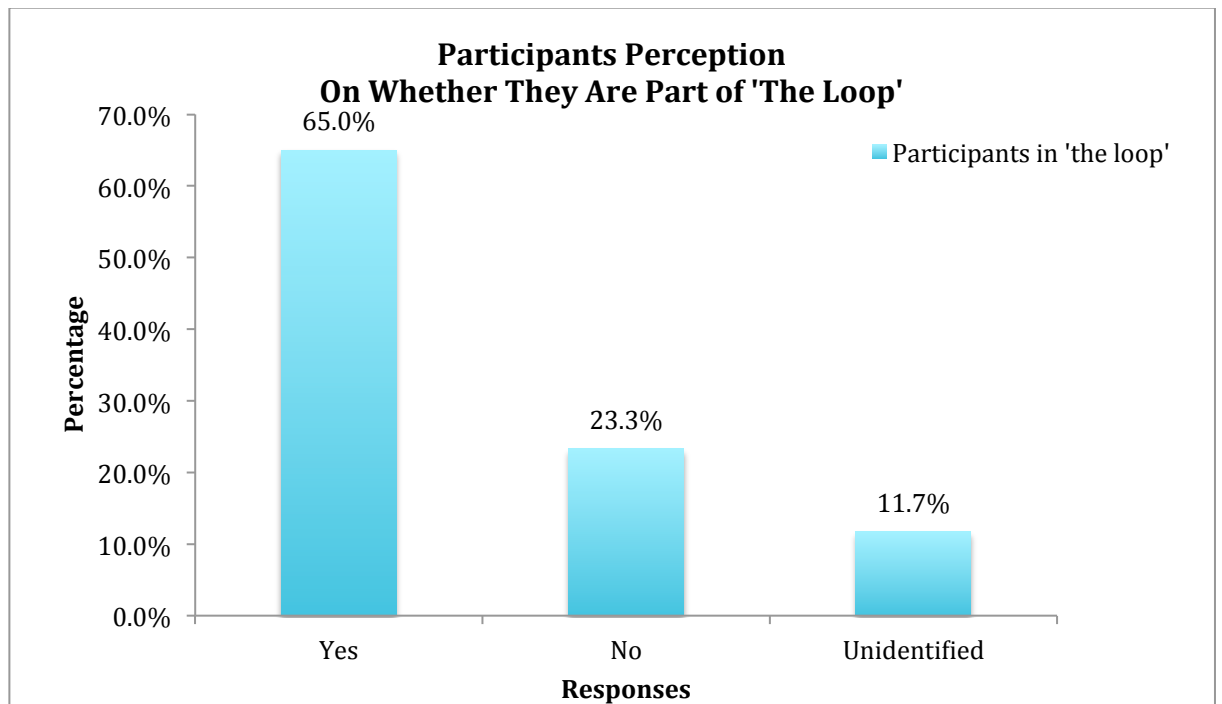


Figure 108 NYC Interviews: Assessing whether interview participants are 'in the loop'

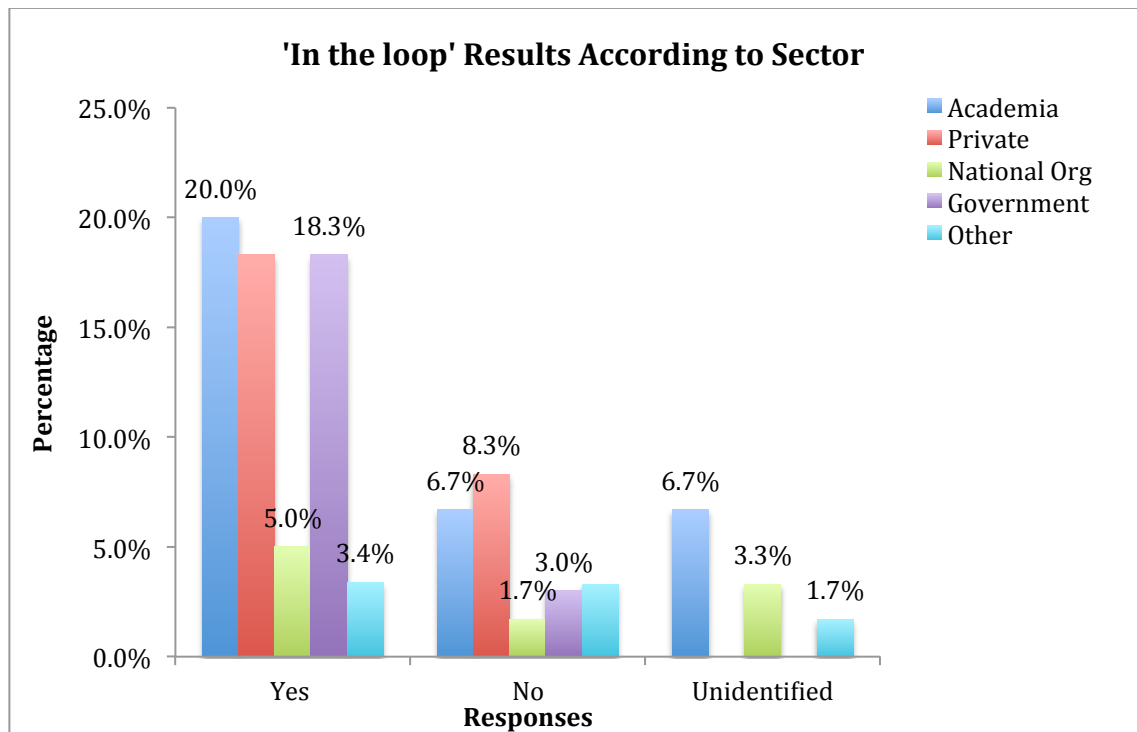


Figure 109 NYC Interviews: Assessing which sectors consider themselves 'in the loop'

While there are inevitably different communities, such as the younger student community, the local societies, the historic preservationist, and so on, it seems that networking is only within one's own familiar environment. It is worth doing further research on students, in particular, to understand their network group. In my observation, the younger London archaeologists have a very strong twitter network, for example, and from there many individuals tend to know others across the country: whether this is something I could not infiltrate in NYC because I came as an outsider, or whether it even exists, is important to understand as it is clear there are isolated clusters which are not synergising with the rest of the archaeologists. Nan Rothschild comments:

...there are all these different little communities, they're all overlapping in some sense, but they don't all get to talk to each other (pers. comm., Rothschild, 2013: 10).

It is a great loss that these overlapping communities do not communicate with each other. Figure 110 and Figure 111 show that 73.3% of interview participants feel that networking is important. The failure to create a more inclusive community through developing networks to be more than on a one-to-one basis or one-off occasion is what makes the NYC environment challenging. We discussed the lack of external support; there is equally a weakened internal support-network. Collaborative efforts or communication ties are informal and personal, hence haphazard and based on inconsistent opportunities. At an institutional level there is little official channel networks in place, so what networking does happen is usually organic (pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 5).

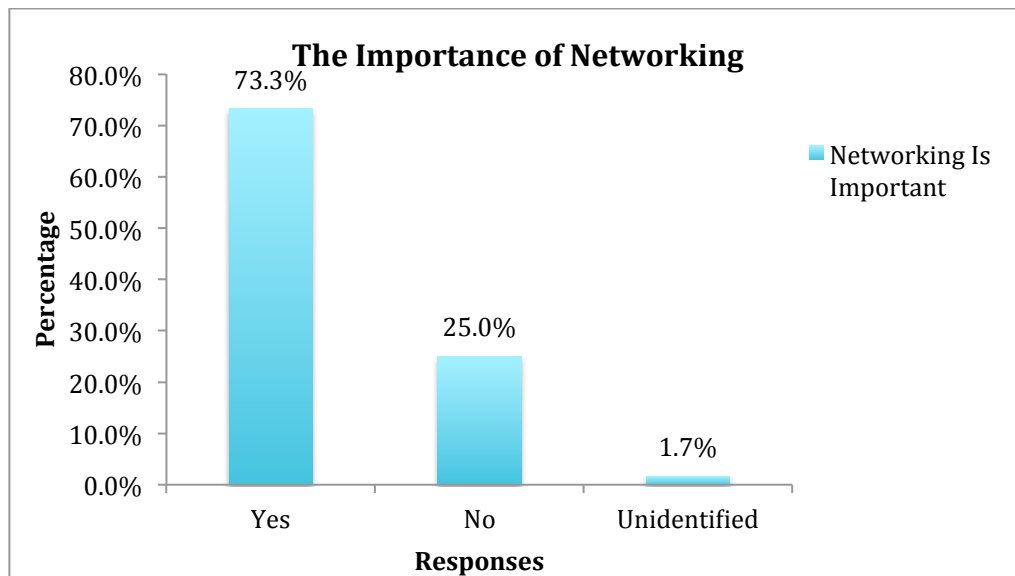


Figure 110 NYC Interviews: Importance of networking

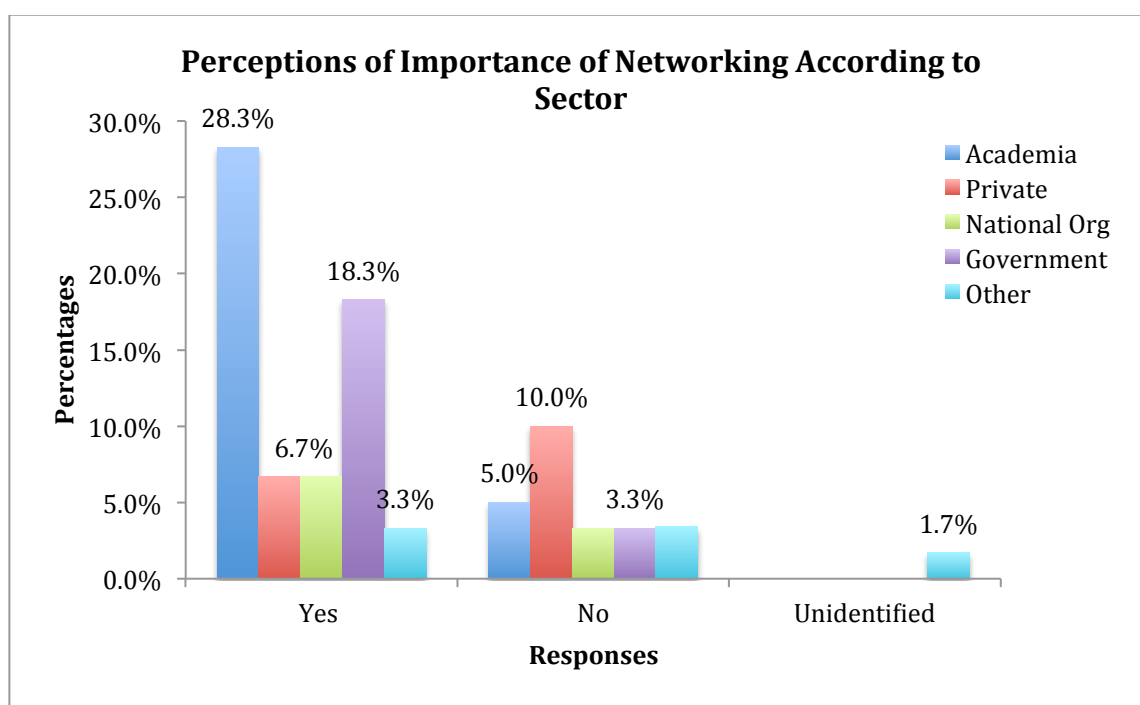


Figure 111 NYC Interviews: Importance of networking according to sector

Fowles at Columbia University comments:

In London, archaeology programmes are massive and merged...here archaeology is shattered. There are archaeologists in history, in language and culture, in art history, classics, in anthropology - and we all regard ourselves as different species to a certain extent. It's not to say we're not interested in talking, but we've got different commitments. So we're fractured, and that can be a strength and a weakness (pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 6).

There are regional conferences; the yearly public conference organised by PANYC; and the odd talk held at different learned societies. However, increasing the number of events, talks, lecture series, or social events (which happen regularly in London) may help in this situation; but most importantly, encouraging the younger archaeologists to attend these.

7.3.3.2.2 Horizons of Observation

The issue about awareness to what research, project and activities are going on extends from the key point of a *community split* raised above. Within the main core group or community, individuals speak to each other on an informal basis and so a lot of word-of-mouth information gets around. In this sense, an individual's horizon of observation is relatively high (see Figure 112 and Figure 113): 70% of interview participants feel that they are aware of activities and research.

Linda Stone comments:

...we know each other, so people - in the archaeological community - you either know or know of pretty much everybody so...it's unusual for somebody to mention the name of an archaeologist who's practising in New York City who I haven't at least heard of. Not like I know everybody. But just from reading reports, or doing your research - part of the research from the Landmarks Commission is looking at back information - what other work has been done in the vicinity of where you're planning to work. So, we know all the archaeologists who've worked in the vicinity and the work that they've done in the past. So, I might just know somebody's name from reading them on a report (pers. comm., Stone, L. 2013: 5).

Also the circulation of newsletters equally aid in finding out what projects are happening in the city; and also, as mentioned earlier, gossip.

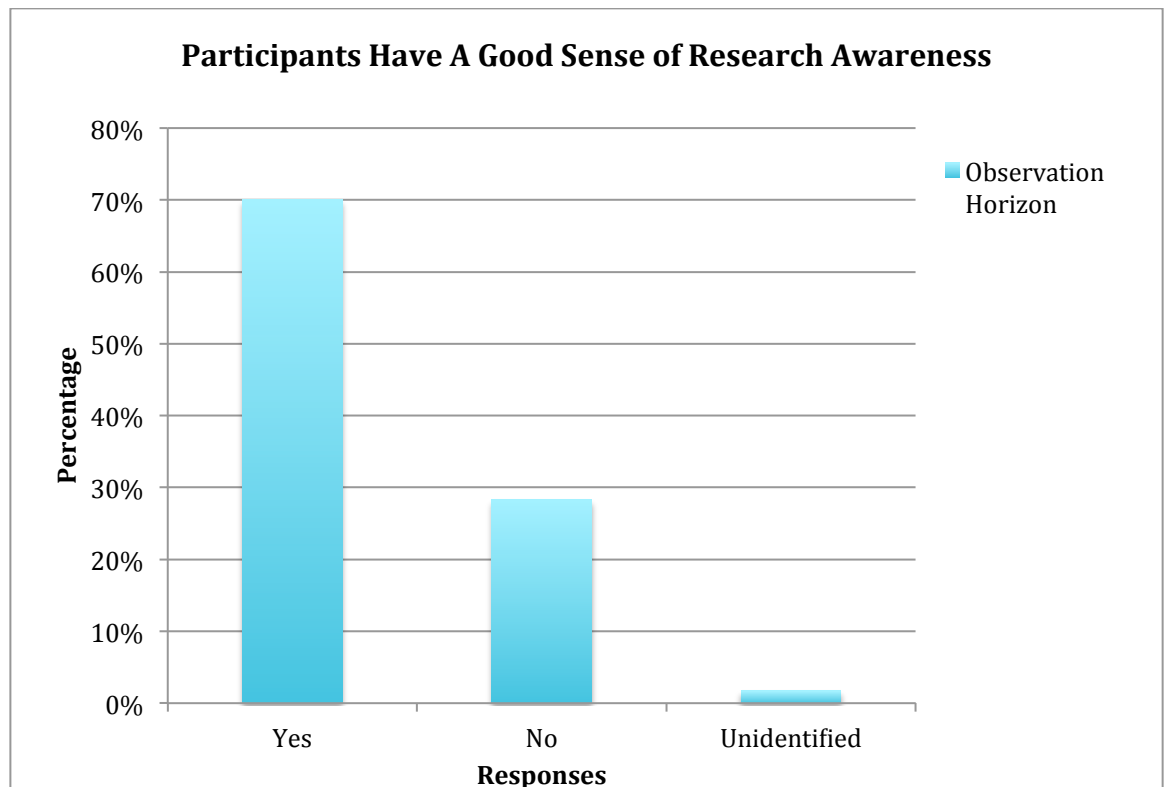


Figure 112 NYC Interview: Level of horizons of observation

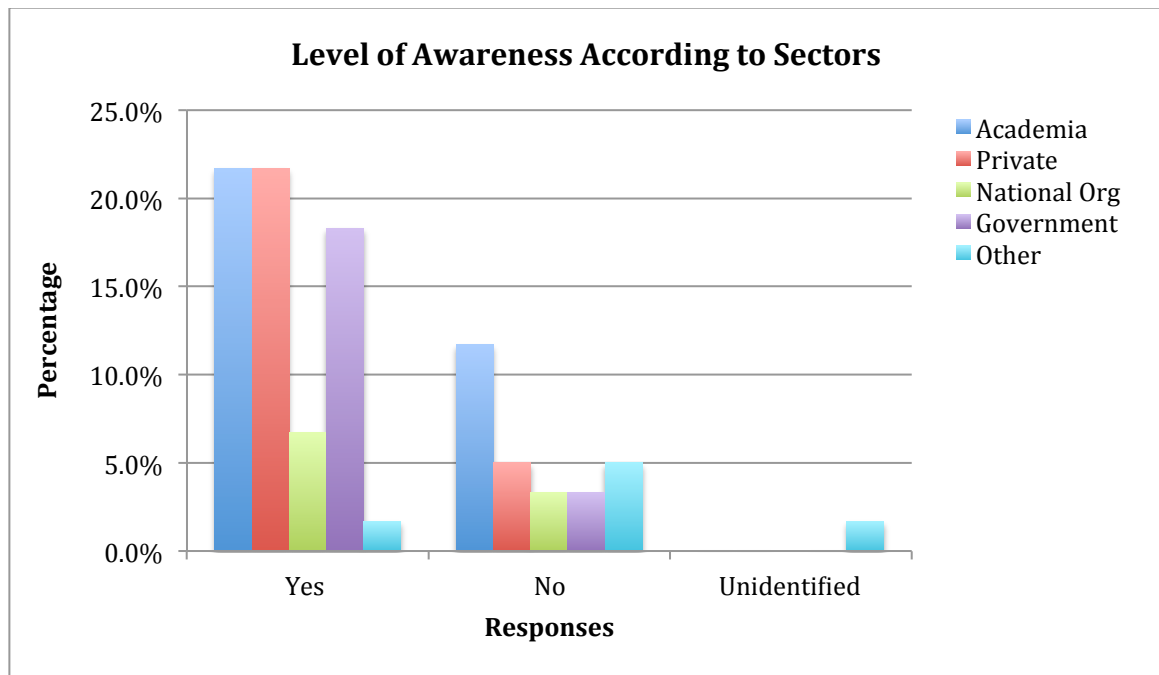


Figure 113 NYC Interview: Level of horizon of observation according to sector

One disconnect observed is with academic institutions. We can see this from the figure above. Although academics interviewed may have their connections with one another (e.g. pers. comm., Crabtree, 2013: 11-12), findings suggest they would genuinely appreciate having a formal channel of communication. The reality of engaging is also related to time and other commitments: not everyone can afford the time to go to meetings, or do research into what projects are happening. However people *do* want to know. Fowles comments:

...I think that the distance that exists for archaeologists over different disciplines... should be regarded as exciting differences that generate or produce new kinds of collaborations. That doesn't always happen. But one should regard it as something with a lot of potential (pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 6).

Not only are academics separated from NYC professional archaeology, but they are also fragmented into different departments internally, which makes it difficult – if not only logistically – to get together. Fowles continues:

The strength is that we bring different literature to the table when we do get together; we learn a lot from each other. We're not speaking the same text or seeing things with the same eyes, so it can be very exciting. When you do build those bridges, it's over a larger chasm, so that's cool! The challenges are that we occasionally don't offer enough respect of each other's research projects. I think that's true of Britain too. There are those who play theory games, and those who like to think of themselves as much more empirically minded...or devoted to their regional records (pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 6).

Awareness of activities is linked to collaboration, communication, dynamics between sectors and individual relationships. In terms of outsiders coming in, Weed advises that:

One of the problems, in terms of the professional community, is that a lot of the companies work in more than one State and work in more than one region. Because of that, their archaeologists don't always have well-established lines of communication within a specific area. In many instances, the locals - the local archaeologists - who are often tied to university programmes - feel threatened by the private sector archaeologists coming in and working on their projects. The best possible thing that can happen, whenever you're involved in one of those projects which is outside of your geographic area, is to literally, when you're in your discussions with the SHPO, find out who's in charge of the local archaeological societies, what the Chapter structure is and go to the Chapters and say, "Hi, we're here to do this, what can you tell us?" That helps a lot. Go to the university programmes, and say to the university programmes "we're here and we're working on this, this is our time-range. Do you have students who need research projects? Who need work?" (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 6)

NYC benefits from having a somewhat centralised system where any outsider knows to go straight to LPC after basic researching into the structures. As a hub of information, those at LPC do redirect interested parties to the relevant people. This is an advantage that NYC has over London: its simplicity or small community allows for a very straight-forward ability to be redirected to appropriate individuals or organisations. It is, in fact, centralised and hierarchical. Understanding horizons of observations allows us to see the source and hub of information, and the bridge and connector between the various groups. Similarly, all reports are now made digital by LPC which adds to its informal role as information hub and facilitator.

7.3.3.3 Training and Support

Jameson comments on how training and mentoring is now changing:

...what happened is the past was nurtured by people who were thinking creatively and were thinking of projects to do or systems to create or training modules to develop, that were ambitious and if they worked hard and were lucky, could carry those things out. Now, a lot of those people who are doing those things are leaving...or are retiring. There's not the same nourishing of personnel, so you don't have that kind of personality as often now (pers. comm., Jameson, 2013: 15).

Training and career progression have developed considerably over the past 30 decades. This section explores some aspects brought up in interviews. I should add that this chapter does not include a section on career progression as in London, as data collected is not suffice for a valid discussion. However, it is very briefly touched on in the next section.

7.3.3.3.1 Training

Because I was unable to access younger students, this section will not focus on training in terms of whether students or aspiring archaeologists have access to archaeology opportunity (60% noted that they had no prior engagement with archaeology before being enrolled in a university programme), or whether CRM versus anthropology degrees prepare one for the real world. As seen in the London chapter, it is not the intention of this paper to propose that academia should train archaeologists to cater for a profession of compliance. The angle that I take is from the perspective of the archaeologists interviewed. It is about a concern that some sort of local knowledge is not being passed, and that there are few young archaeologists who will be able to take over: it is about a ‘dying profession’ (pers. comm., anon., 2013).¹⁸⁵

There are those well-established individuals, identified earlier, of the elder generation that actually act as network hubs, both through academic lineage, and also as the key people in the city. It’s about being ‘custodians’ of the archaeology, says Paul Huey, a philosophy that he feels the emerging youth are not signed onto (pers. comm., Huey, 2013: 17). These earlier custodians are fully acknowledged and respected as having a wealth of experience and knowledge, and archaeologists want them to train and share their skills:

These are the people that know everything. They know what happened. They know the history. They’ve got all this wealth of information, by god, they should be using it at this point! They should be using it to train us - the next generation. They should be using it to train the generation that’s coming up behind us. They’re the ones who know everything! Everything we’ve learned is by watching them, by reading their stuff. And then taking what we know and we’ve learned and then adapting that and moving on. ...I just think we need to figure out a way to start better working together because the resources are starting to dwindle, and agencies are starting to ignore us again, and if we don’t start acting in a unified front with a real position to move forward, the archaeology is going to go away in the city. And you know what, yes - it’s 2 to 3 hundred years of history - but it’s our history. And we don’t really know it. (pers. comm., anon., 2013).

One of the problems is that it is extremely difficult to compare oneself to ‘a lot of strong personalities in the field with incredible experience’, says Sutphin, and that ‘there are younger people, it’s just harder to compare with people who have accomplished so much in their life with people who are still mid-life’ (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 38; see Yates, 2013: 54).

The inevitable reality in NYC archaeology is that there is a lot of knowledge, expertise and skills harbouring in a handful of individuals that sooner or later will no longer be around. NYC archaeology is a handful of individuals who have survived so long, and although there is a lingering fear of survival in the air, my observations are that there is the next generation of

185 The fear of NYC archaeology as a ‘dying profession’ was brought up by 4 separate archaeologists who then edited it out of their transcripts.

archaeologists aged late 30s to 40s who are local to New York City who *will* continue to work there and slowly grow to replace the elder generation. While there will surely be the loss of local memory, new memory is in the making (Figure 114 and Figure 115).

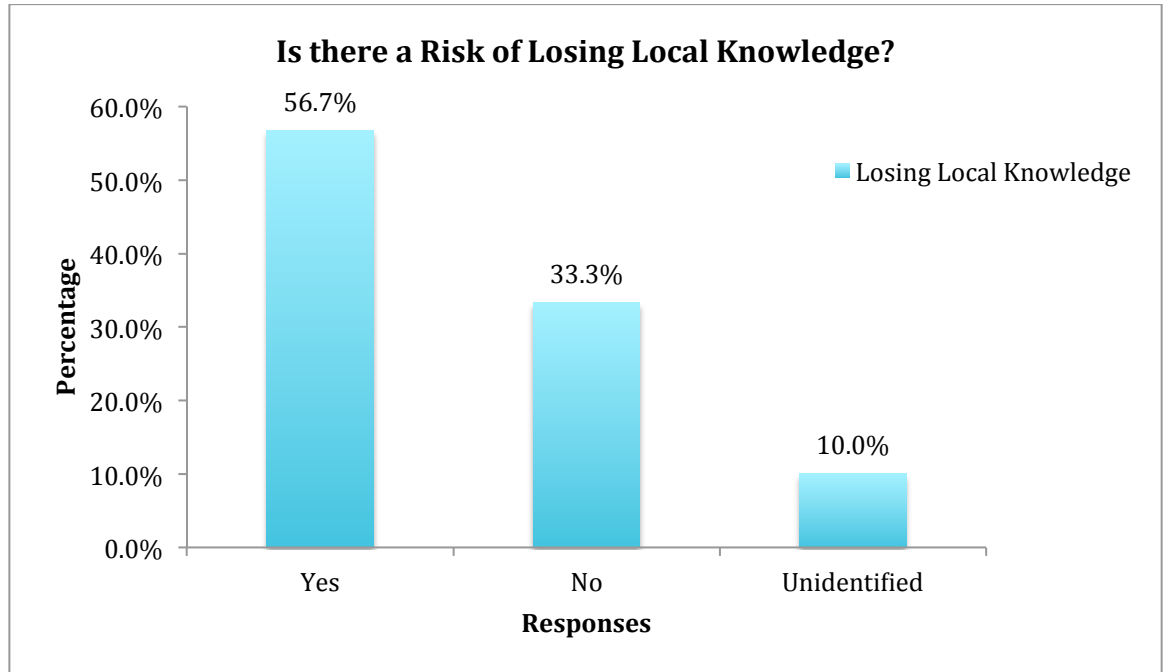


Figure 114 NYC Interviews: Results on losing local expert knowledge

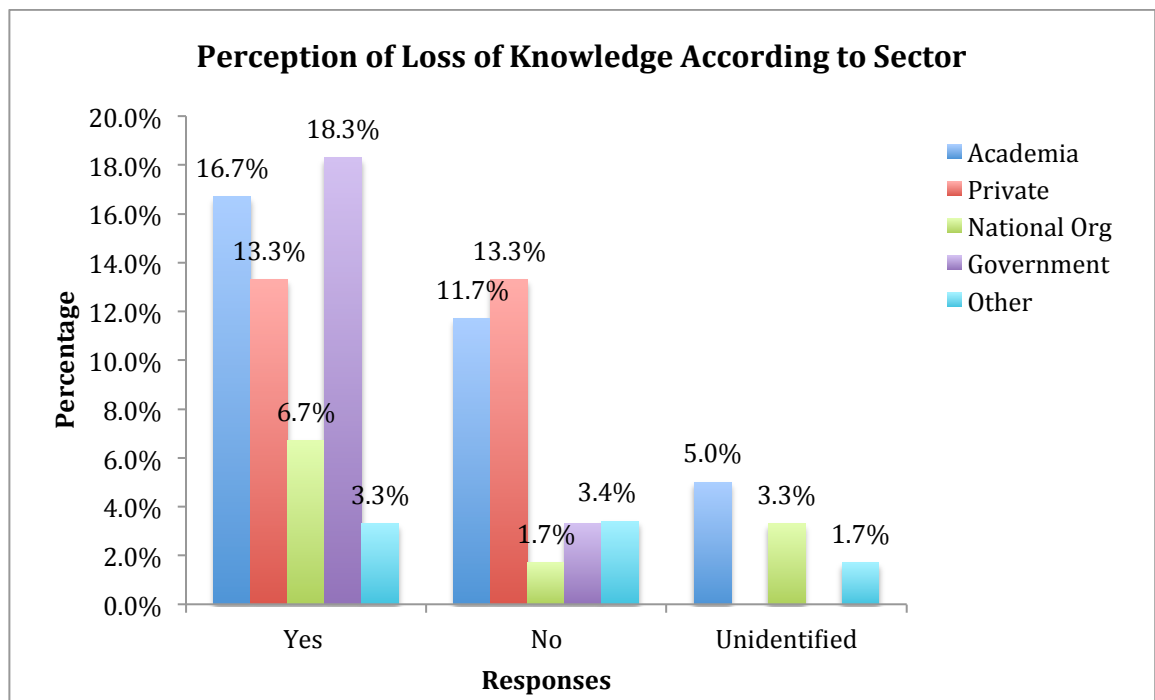


Figure 115 NYC Interviews: Results on losing local expert knowledge according to sector

The figures above demonstrate that more concern on the loss of knowledge comes from government bodies and academia. This is most likely because they notice that the institutional and structural support to create training programmes is not in place. There is a need to mentor replacements.

On the other side of the coin, Schuldenrein is known to take in students and has built relationships with two of the academics interviewed. He comments:

...[It's] all about saying yes. Can you? Yes. Don't finish the question - the answer is yes. The answer is always yes. You know why - because if you're trained well and you have the experience, you can do it anywhere. If you're not trained well and don't have the experience, then you can't do it anywhere. That's our mantra. And you're only going to get the experience when you screw up a couple of times. And then you will say yes, we learnt from the experience... (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 29)¹⁸⁶

The practice of training is somewhat different in NYC than in London, largely because there are not the institutional or organisation bodies in place to truly discuss training, opportunities, support and professional development beyond simple one-to-one initiatives or personal relationships.

In terms of career progression, my observation is that – unlike London – individuals have had a very clear and forward direction in terms of whether they are academics, involved in museums, contract archaeologists or state (see Appendix 3). It is only the recent generation that now work within different sectors and make their living doing a variety of different jobs in different sectors (e.g. pers. comm., Britt, 2013: 4; 19; pers. comm., Sanger, 2013: 3; 9).

7.3.3.3.2 Support and Rocking the Boat

Back in his youth, Ralph Solecki recollects that 'as an individual I was powerless to do anything...just had to sit back and see what was happening' and considers the practice of archaeology in NYC 'not difficult but impossible...it's all economy (pers. comm., Solecki, 2013: 34; 32). The relationship between support, the strength of *communities* (rather than institutions), and the fearless push versus the decision to pick your battles all play a part in the making of the profession.

NYC is the king of real estate, and with the US's 'rugged individualistic mentality' towards private property (e.g. pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 5; pers. comm., anon., 2013), real threats of law and courts come into play (see Section 7.3.1.1.1).

Cullingworth & Caves (2009: 86) quite eloquently points out:

Recourse to the courts is a marked feature of the American system of government. As

¹⁸⁶ Supported by 'How failure breeds success' in *Business Week* (10 July 2006)

Tocqueville noted 150 years ago, “there is hardly a political question in the United States which does not sooner or later turn into a judicial one”. Constitutional safeguards can transform a small administrative matter into a major judicial issue. It is therefore not surprising that the courts play a major role in the land use planning process.

‘Everything in New York City sometimes appears to be managed by lawyers and archaeology is not exempt’ (pers. comm., Weed, 2013: 8). Other interviewees were also very conscious of New York City ‘having 12 million lawyers’ (pers. comm., Sutphin, 2013: 18): it can make you watch your step.

Similar to London (Section 5.3.3.3.2), we see this idea of ‘rocking the boat’ emerge. There are particular individuals, some in positions of leadership, who make noise when they feel something is violating the law or destroying the historic environment. Figure 116 presents the results of interview participants coded as ‘rocking the boat’, while Figure 117 looks at these individuals closer according to the sector they are currently in.

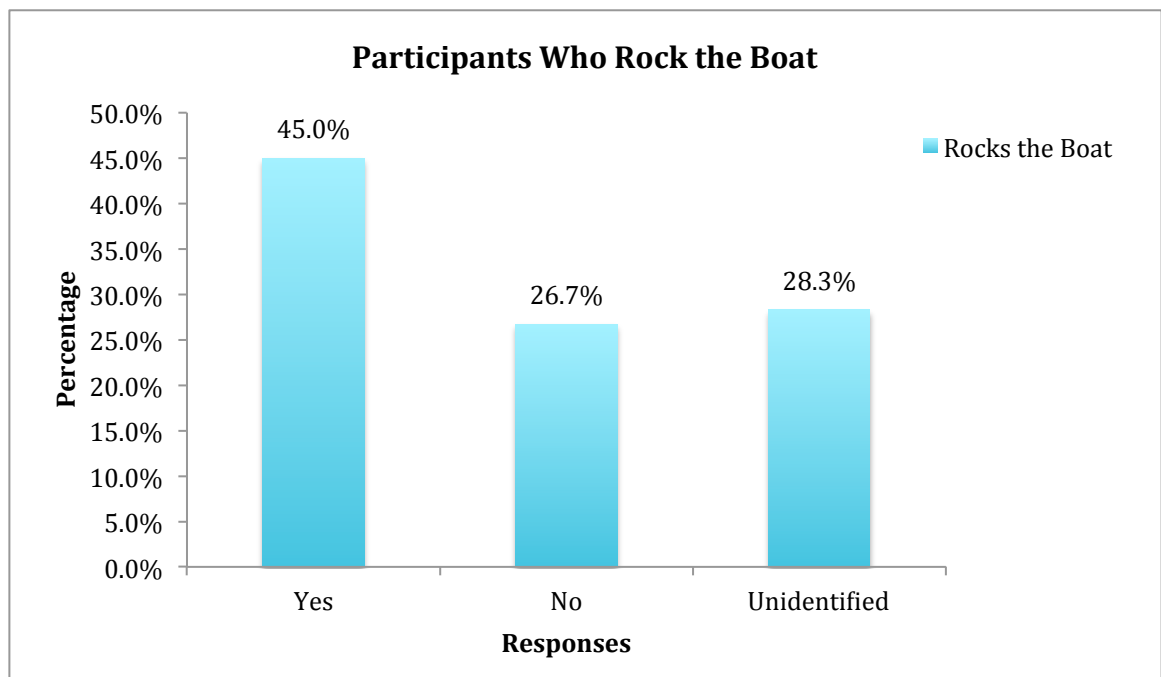


Figure 116 NYC Interviews: Participants coded as rocking the boat

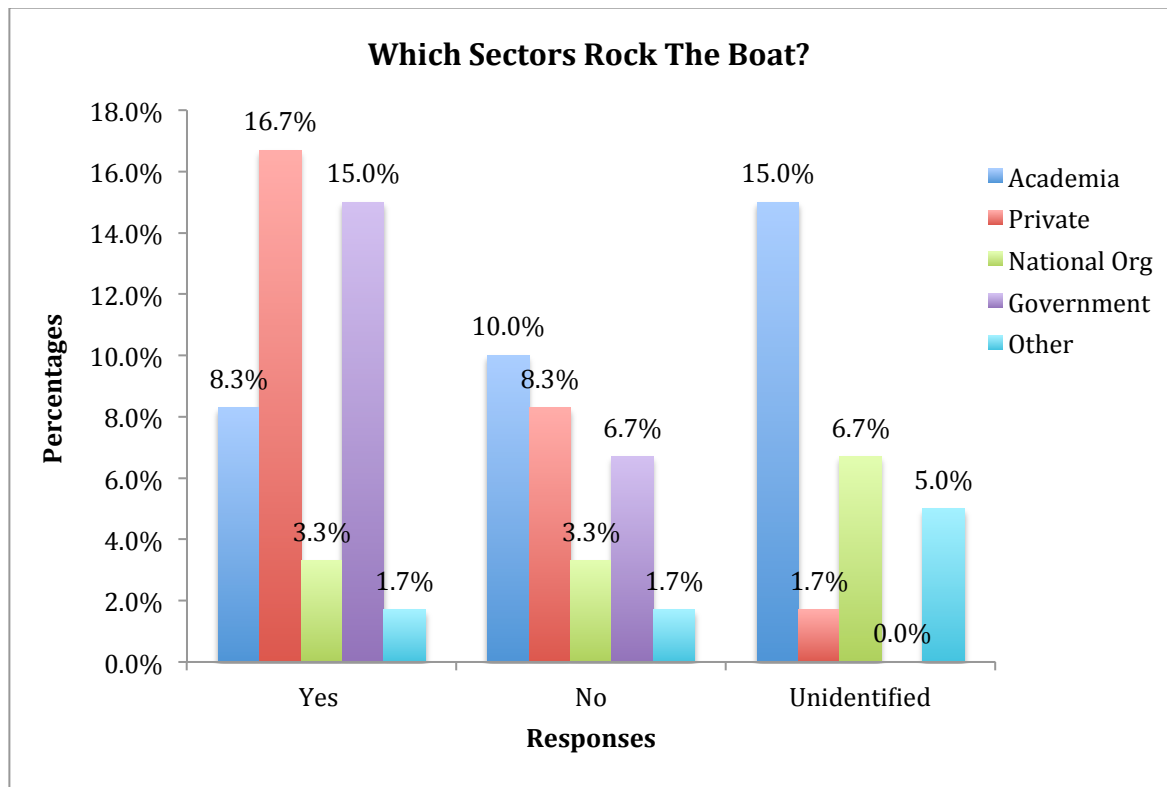


Figure 117 NYC Interviews: The sector of participants who are coded as rocking the boat

A fair amount of these individuals come out of private sector and the government sector: these individuals more commonly use the law to enforce the protection of cultural resources, and so tend to make examples of any violations.

One of the main weapons for fighting the political establishment is local community support. 75% of interviewees know the value and importance of the public voice. SHPO reviewer, Yates, comments:

...it takes local eyes, it takes local wisdom, local understanding, local interest, and the agencies don't actually have a vested interest in the history of any particular locality. There's laws that are administered from top-down and there's interest and resources that come from the bottom-up. There has to be good vertical integration, there has to be good communication vertically to facilitate preservation of sites and resources because you'd be hard-pressed to find sites that are preserved when there's no local support. An agency just on their own doesn't typically do that. And the local interest can come from so many different ways. But there has to be local folks who are supporting it. It can come from any way or direction, and the currency of the support can be great in different ways. There has to be local support. That's why relationships are important...a lot of that happens at the local level, because a lot of people don't trust government, and so if these discussions - what's important to a community - happens at a local level, I think there's a better chance at preservation occurring (pers. comm., Yates, 2013: 62).

Using the public as a weapon can equally work against archaeology, and may not always be the appropriate measure: for example it can result in a public outcry which halts development, sometimes disrupting the image of archaeologist for developers (pers. comm., Huey, 2013: 18). But public aside, there is a clear tendency ‘pick’ or ‘choose’ battles, rather than confront situations fearlessly as was the case in previous decades (Figure 118; Figure 119 is based on sector).

The fear of speaking up is something that we are seeing more of, from global cities all the way down to relatively small institutions. There is a blockage in terms of people voicing their opinions, perceptions, and suggestions in an official and formal environment; instead issues are discussed in private or isolated spaces.

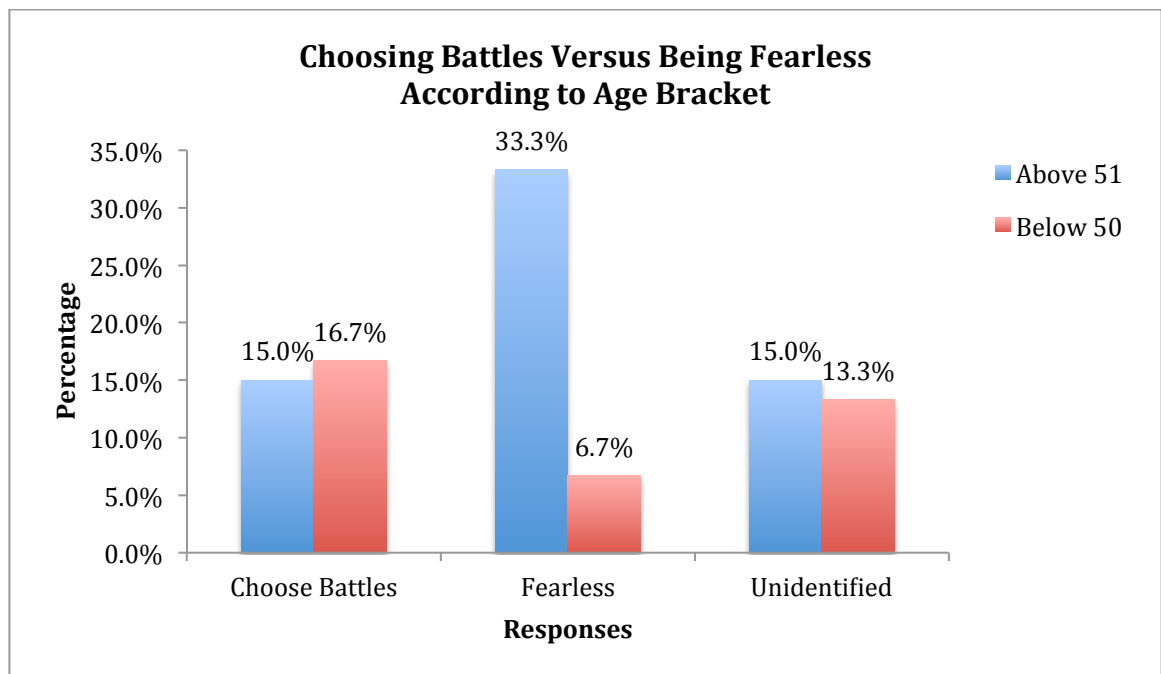


Figure 118 NYC Interviews: Participants that choose their battles or are fearless

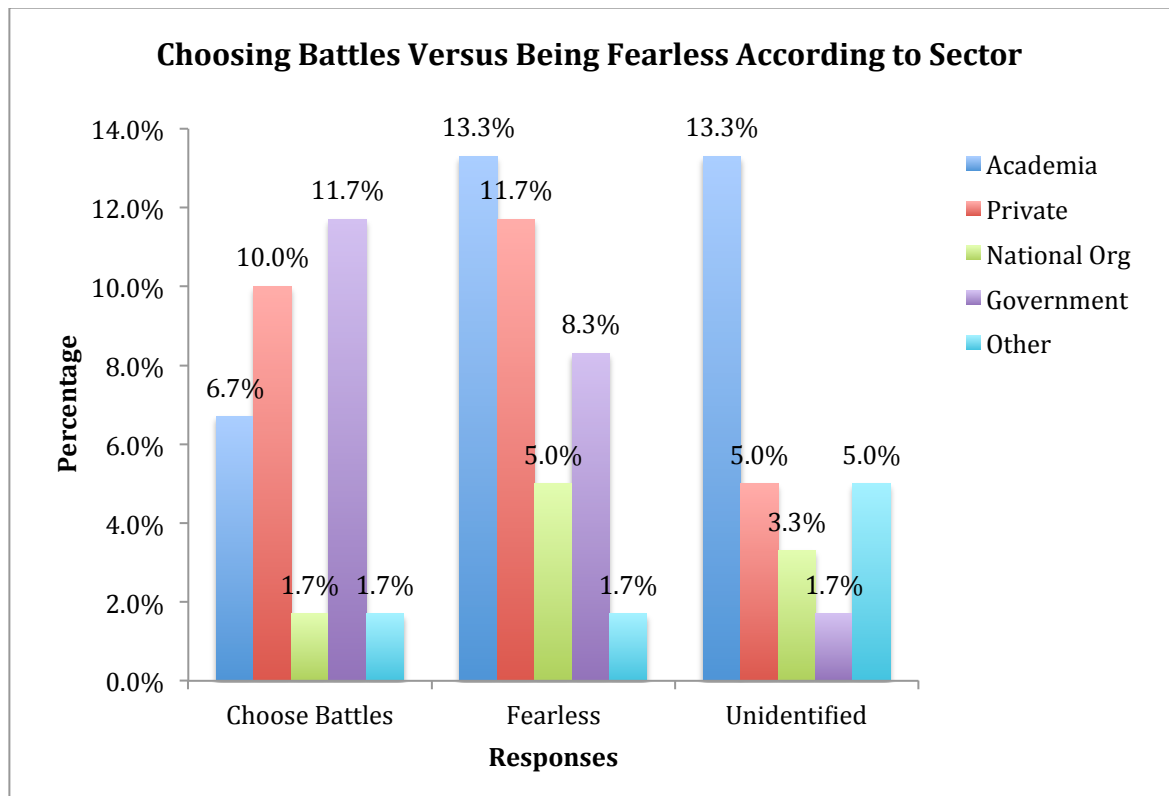


Figure 119 NYC Interviews: Choosing battles or fearless according to age

Like London, people are ‘fearful of their jobs...and all afraid to speak up...’ (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 24) and ‘carefully play inside the rules’ (pers. comm., Yamin, 2013: 23). There is a real threat, witnessed during the African Burial Ground (Section 7.2.1.2.1), that people lose their jobs and so are ‘extremely fearful of being unemployed’ (pers. comm., Baugher, 2013: 12).

Like London, this is an issue that needs to be addressed in terms of providing appropriate support, information, networks and channels to be able to legitimately voice real concerns without feeling threatened of losing jobs, livelihood or career progression.

Even in the data collection of this research, I encountered another angle of the fear culture: the level to which participants have edited or requested their transcript be pulled from public view was surprising. NYC participants edited their transcripts more, and actually quite significantly at times, commenting that they were too candid during the interview. Unlike London (see Section 5.3.3.3.2), the government sector were more concerned, and then the contract sector. Throughout this chapter, I have referenced quotes with ‘anon’ to demonstrate the extremity of the situation, which pushes archaeologists to feel that this sort of information should not be officially spoken about, and to show the kind of information participants do not want to be affiliated to. Initially many of the quotes used were referenced by name, but close to the end of this research, many participants requested they not be associated with the comment. It is a surprise to see such

discussion being muted, and even more so when some of the comments can hardly be seen as offensive, political, or controversial.

7.3.3.4 Networks, Power and Social Capital

Keeping everything discussed so far in mind, and making the mental link with the data presented in London Chapter 5, the benefits of increased and more efficient communication, collaboration, networking and uniformity start to unfold (discussed in Section 2.2).

Schuldenrein makes a leading statement about innovation and learning:

If I hear someone coming in from the outside, I'm on it and I want it, because I think the way we do things here is so provincial. So incredibly provincial it's ridiculous. I see someone come in, it's "please come and let's cross-fertilise". I'm so on it. I want to learn from you. You need to learn from me...There's no excuse for us to be at the tail of the dog rather than the dog that wags the tail. It's preposterous. There's so much innovation in this city, it's absurd that we're in the netherworld in terms of this profession. We are so far. It's frightening (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 32-33).

Outside influence brings a new perspective of ways that projects or endeavours can be approached. Many archaeologists have supported the fact that – in some cases - people (such as Bert Salwen) coming in from a different area of expertise or profession can really push and inspire archaeology to embrace innovative and different methods, and bring different literature and understanding (e.g. pers. comm., Klein, 2013: 57-59; pers. comm., Neville, 2013: 3; pers. comm., Fowles, 2013: 16). Sometimes, for example, contracting out-of-state can teach how to work and use different approaches otherwise unthought of (pers. comm., Mackey, 2013: 18).

Because the city is so expensive, lots of companies try to enter and compete, but end up retreating, leaving the small core group of small firms to continue as they were, with minimal expansion into new techniques. There was a time, however, when the out-of-state companies were eating up the smaller local companies, 'just buying them up and saying you can't compete against us anymore, become part of us or die' (pers. comm. Mackey, 2013: 20), so disdain to out-of-towners is understandable. One local archaeologists comments, 'they don't like people here from the outside...they don't like it...they don't want it' (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 30). Using the World Trade Center project as an example, he comments 'they were offended that somebody came in from the outside and told them what was going on...you could hear these people snickering and sneering and just couldn't wait to get out of there...', asking 'who is this guy? Why is he here? Why didn't we do this?' (pers. comm., Schuldenrein, 2013: 30).

NYC archaeology is a small and local network. Its main challenge is to hone local knowledge and skills while simultaneously learning and adopting techniques, ideas, and approaches from the greater state, region or world. An obstacle for them to overcome is a 'lack of vision, and the inability to create the kind of collaborative partnerships' (pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 7).

7.4 Final Thoughts and Reflections

This chapter has covered a range of themes that were extracted from the data collected, and although similar themes to London emerge, they do so from a different perspective and a different historical context.

‘NY is a global city and is oddly ahistorical...it collects the world’s past and very little of its own past’ (pers. comm., Maclean, 2013: 3). It is a difficult city to survive in when it comes to protecting its own history. As Gilbert points out ‘archaeologists and preservationist are to some extent salmon swimming upstream’ (pers. comm., Gilbert, 2013: 16).

Reflecting on the data presented here, NYC is a great example of how the archaeological profession survives in a city with very little support. Having first conducted research in London and understanding the structures, gaps and dynamics at play in London, NYC is surprising by comparison in that there is no academic support; there had been no repository; neither is there an established relationship with the wider professional community.

The positive observations from NYC are that it has a very simple and hierarchical network which is easy to penetrate. There are fixed institutions whereby any curious archaeologist may contact; my experience in NYC demonstrates that through creating one-to-one relationships with individuals, it is easy to then develop further partnerships and work collaboratively. It is clear that the NYC archaeological community needs to further push itself into organisations and activities that are beyond the city boundaries, taking place state-wise or regionally. They may benefit from offering stronger input to bodies such as NYAC, and by sharing their vital experience of working under such extreme pressure and within a global city context, as these pressure will inevitably spread to other state regions with time (see Chapter 3, the geographical influence of global cities move to regional influence). They would equally benefit from creating tighter and more active engagement with a younger generation: the most realistic organisation for this may be PANYC (which may need to reinvent itself to be more inclusive), and also the new repository hosted at MNYC.

To conclude, NYC archaeologists are a positive and good group open to increased collaboration, even with other city-states such as London: the opportunity lies in creating formal channels and partnerships fuelled by positive outcomes.

8 Chapter Eight: Questions, Conclusions and Implications

‘All That Is Solid Melts Into Air’

Marx & Engels

8.1 Introduction

This chapter brings a close to the thesis by returning to the research questions and drawing out the implications of the results presented in earlier chapters. Feedback and strong opinions from personal colleagues involved in archaeology demonstrate, on a personal note, how opinionated and keen archaeologists are about their profession. Some of the issues raised in this thesis have been concerns for decades; some of them are obvious; and some of them deserve more thought, discussion and action. The end point, however, is that local relationships and dynamics matter. This work addresses that, and the potential to create a sustainable and networked profession.

Chapters 5 and 7 present results and also provide brief discussions. Together, as two global cities, commonalities are drawn out through the main ‘Emerging Themes’ structuring the chapters. The underlying point throughout is the importance of understanding human dynamics for developing methods to encourage and sustain the flow of information within and between groups and communities.

In all networks, but particularly for larger city networks, the need to locate informal networks that coexist with the formal institutionalised structure is important to enhance productivity within the formal setting: i.e. who influences whom, how interactions can be modified to promote better information diffusion, and how archaeology in global cities inevitably bears the weight of politics, economics *and* urban culture.

Marx and Engels’s passage above seems fitting, as it refers to a system that has evaporated and been replaced with another system, which too is constantly expanding and in flux, and needing therefore to constantly revolutionise itself in order to create new opportunities. Urban archaeology is expanding and in flux. Functioning in a city constantly pulled in opposing directions (Chapter 3), it inevitably will be. By using the concepts and techniques of understanding organisational behaviour (Chapter 2), and the similar challenges within cities that also become archaeologist’s challenges, we can begin to expand our circle of influence (Figure 2) and work towards a proactive focus.

As a reminder, this research set out to look at whether:

1. There are common characteristics found in the role, responsibilities, values and practice of those involved in urban archaeology due to the increasingly common attributes and policies of global cities and, if so,
2. To what degree those common characteristics can offer insight to better ways of managing the archaeological processes within future global cities.

Chapter 3 presented similar characteristics of global cities. The result chapters (5 and 7) already present particular commonalities in the results through the *Emerging Themes* section. These themes *are* the common characteristics found in the two cities. The data has indicated differences on a local level, but in terms of archaeologists feeling tensions in their roles, responsibilities, values and practice, the data presented for London and NYC clearly indicate there are common characteristics which are a direct consequence of becoming part of an expanding city network *and* having the need to respond to global city pressures. Below we explore how the results can now offer further insight into working towards a better community.

8.2 Comparison of Contexts

In Chapter 3, we looked at the context of global cities and the challenges that they face. The discussion is used as a background for the following chapters 4 and 6 that present London and New York City's development in planning and archaeology respectively. London and New York have long been important cities: what has changed since the 1970s is the structure and magnitude of different industry sectors – particularly business and finance – and also the networked character of these cities. The reorganisation of the financial industry in the 1980s brought about fundamental changes, characterised by less regulation, more diversification and more competition (Sassen, 2001). Although these changes appear removed from archaeology, this thesis has showed the impact it has had on the set up of the profession, and ultimately the individuals working within it.

8.2.1 London Versus New York City

The Wealth Report (2015) conducted by Knight Frank international consultancy firm keeps track of cities by ranking them based on four factors: economic activity, quality of life, knowledge and influence, and political power.

Their city ranking for 2013, 2014 and their prediction of 2024 is seen in Figure 120, and illustrates that London and New York City are set to remain the world's most important cities for

the coming years, due to their history, location and long-established wealth.

Rank	2013	2014	2024
1	London	London	New York
2	New York	New York	London
3	Singapore	Singapore	Hong Kong
4	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Singapore
5	Geneva	Geneva	Shanghai
6	Shanghai	Shanghai	Beijing
7	Dubai	Miami	Dubai
8	Miami	Dubai	Miami
9	Paris	Beijing	Geneva
10	Beijing	Paris	Mumbai

Figure 120 The Wealth Report 2014 Ranking of Cities

The rivalry between the two cities is long lasting, because, despite annual fluctuations, there is very little to separate the two. Both cities outperform their national economy in terms of GDP per capita by significant percentages: London excels the UK by 72% and NYC by 35.7% (see International Monetary Fund, and US Bureau of Economic Analysis).

The Atlantic (2012) says London and New York City are strikingly similar in terms of their status in the Global Cities Index and Global Financial Centres Index. Also their population differs by barely 3 percent, and their demography is equally made up of a range of different ethnicity, age, and backgrounds. In New York, 6.8 million families earn more than \$20,000 annually, according to McKinsey (2011). In London, it is 6 million. Between 1993 and 2010, New York's city GDP grew 26% faster than the entire country. London grew 27% faster than the UK.

The cities also mirror each other as transatlantic cultural hubs. New York has the Met, MoMA, and Museum of Natural History. London has the National Gallery, Tate Modern, and the British Museum. New York has Broadway. London has the West End. New York is cosmopolitan, with 36% of its residents foreign born; London's share is 40%.

Similarly, the two cities share some common background in their trajectories concerned with planning and archaeology (Chapters 4 and 6). To start, they both look to each other for ideas of policies, and engage in policy transfers and lesson-learning (Stone, 2001): we see common adoptions of city movements, nuisance laws, zoning, deregulation and so on which in both cities acted as responses to similar challenges. For example, the impetus that pushed both cities to develop and advance planning approaches and legislation came from their need to attend to socio-

economic issues such as poverty, sanitation, health crises, and epidemics; social crisis such as riots and strikes; and other natural hazards such as fires and floods. They also similarly both dealt with power plays between government bodies and their role with regulation, and supporters of those who value the constitutional rights of property, land use, and other freedoms. Equally, they both addressed (and continue to address) the issue of local versus central control, and the role of citizen participation in planning, and localism versus globalisation.

Another similarity that we saw was the push in development after the Second World War, and with the challenges of being a global cities, which meant addressing issues such as transportation and highways, immigration and urbanisation, suburbanisation, housing and business infrastructure. NYC looked to London's innovative movements such as Garden Cities and other approaches to planning, which led to changes in legislation as well.

Another similarity between the two cities, also discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, was the citizen movements to protect the historic environment: governments were embarrassed in both cities by situations where development plans angered citizens to rise in revolt. The difference, however, is that NYC's disappointment and uprising was very much harboured in descendant groups or local neighbourhood groups. This leads to a difference also addressed earlier: despite NYC being known as London's sibling city, there remains a very strong attachment to descendant group identity, which impacts who identifies with the historical environment and narrative presented. These groups, for example, include African American, Native American, Irish descendent, Jewish descendent, or other specific social groups. This separation of heritage into ownership is something that was not observed in London, at least not an immediate observation (see Gardner, 2013).

Furthermore, the impact of neoliberal policies introduced by Thatcher and Reagan is yet another significant similarity (Chapter 4 and 6), which changed the city fabric and political structures in terms of deregulation, privatisation and a drive towards the industrial and financial sector. The trajectory of the commercialisation of sectors has had its mark on planning and archaeology, as presented in Chapter 5 and 7.

What is clear is that both London and NYC do have common attributes and policies in terms of planning and archaeology, despite subtle differences, that are visible through understanding their background and development, as well as influences on each other. These common traits impact individuals (and the archaeological culture) to respond in common ways.

8.2.2 Comparisons of Archaeological Context and Record

Chapters 4 and 6 provided a insight into the development of archaeology in both the UK and the US, which highlight differences in the outlook and approach. Of course these histories influence the questions, methods and interpretations of the archaeological record, as well as how it is then

disseminated, understood and appreciated within the archaeological community, as well as within the political and social context. For example, as explained in Section 4.2.1, urban archaeology had been recognised in London since even before the 1920s, whereas in NYC, prehistoric archaeology dominated NY archaeology as late as the mid-1970s. So in London during the 1970s we see the emergence of a substantially large (and growing) group of archaeologists, whereas in NYC at this time, there were only a handful of NYC archaeologists. We also see how London's larger archaeological landscape – supported by a range of institutions and organisations – gave opportunities for innovative advances and understandings in urban archaeology; NYC, on the other hand, still anchored itself to anthropological agendas and, as a smaller local cohort, had less support and opportunities for advances in recording systems or urban techniques.

What is now converging the two separate histories is that external impact of deregulation and privatisation imposed on the cities since the 1980s. Archaeology in both cities is now fundamentally practised under similar challenges – such as political, time and financial restraints – that archaeologists are required to conduct archaeology within the restrictions of those challenges regardless of the historical background of the practice. We see how contract archaeology and CRM are driven by different understandings of running a business, compliance, and publishing reports than its predecessors.

In terms of the archaeological record, again, London's highly complex stratigraphy allowed archaeologists to explore new methods and strategies, which was strengthened in the 1970s by the DUA's community of archaeologists supported under the MoL. NYC's archaeologists, however, were still based in universities, driven by a few interested urban archaeologists with a focus on compliance and very little creative space to be innovative in their practice.

8.3 Urban Heritage Management: Actors and Tools

Returning to city contexts, the forces at play in global cities (Chapter 3) create an incredibly complex environment which can both facilitate or impede on developing tighter and stronger network communities. The changing socio-economic role and political agenda, as well as changing values towards the historic environment, also are important factors in transforming the position of archaeology within cities. There are a lot of overlapping issues and complex dynamics and interrelationships between groups (Chapter 5 and 7). Some interests are similar; some interests are opposing. While developing a unified consensus between all groups interested in the protection of the historic environment is work in progress, tapping into informal networks and creating these as larger models for maximising impact and influence is possible.

8.3.1 *Governments and Local Authorities Concerned with Archaeology*

8.3.1.1 Roles and Observations

The management and governance of government and local authorities are to ensure accountability, integrity and transparency of local government action, but also to include and represent all groups of urban society. Government in London and NYC have integrated urban heritage management strategies into national development policies and agendas. We have seen how in both cities, archaeology, historic preservation and the historic environment are all terms that are included in planning policy and regulations.¹⁸⁷ They are also equally answerable to different tiers of government which place the protection of the historic environment within a hierarchical list of other planning requirements and considerations that need to be considered.

The SHPO in NY and EH in England seem to be comparable. They are both set up to provide advisory services for agents and actors involved in development that impacts archaeological sites. Equally, they both have the power and authority to be on an equal footing¹⁸⁸ with developers to negotiate and advise on work that needs to be conducted (that is, there is not a client-based relationship between the two). Although advisory, because SHPO and EH are both created and backed by law, their judgement carries weight and ensures that tangible and intangible components of the urban heritage are considered. They are, in effect, the government's advisory body for heritage protection which is positive in terms of influence, but less so in terms of being weakened by more influential departments of government.

LPC in NYC seems most comparable with the archaeology officers within LPAs in London. It is a complicated match in terms of their official role and standing. LPC is the city preservation commission; archaeology falls within that. In that sense, it does not seem compatible with archaeology officers within local authorities. Unofficially, however, in practice they are both run by a handful of individuals (NYC by a team of 2.5 and London a collection of 7). These individuals are key: they act as bridgers amongst archaeologists, and between planning and archaeology. They have incredible knowledge of their area and act as hubs of information; they have the ability to influence standards through monitoring, accepting or declining reports.

These individuals play a vital part of development-led archaeology, and also for the role that archaeology has within planning. London archaeology officers and other officers around the UK form the Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO), which is a forum to enable discussion between officers. While LPC and NYSHPO may communicate with other

¹⁸⁷ The US uses the term *historic preservation* whereas the UK uses *historic environment*.

¹⁸⁸ While it may be argued that developers must get permissions from government planning officials and adhere to the law, Chapter 3 has demonstrated that government very much takes the backseat and supports development and industry, thus placing the developer on an equal footing, if not on occasion higher.

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officers, this happens on a case-by-case basis and the extent, level and degree is based on officer's personal relationships.

The situation in terms of external support and funding are equally similar. These bodies are clearly under-resourced and under-staffed, and these small teams cannot realistically look thoroughly through each project that they receive. Intellectually, these individuals are able to provide key insight and guidance to projects, however their capacity in terms of time, support and finance is diminishing. The fact that they cannot offer their knowledge further (e.g. what contractor may be best suited based on local knowledge and experience) and must remain neutral means that they inadvertently cannot endorse best practice.

Although government archaeological officers are in a senior position with very strong knowledge of what is needed for the protection of archaeology, their power is limited. In both cities, they can only, for example, impact or influence work if they happen to visit a site at a time where they can see and comment on work being done; or after the fact when a report is received, which means they somehow have to negotiate ways to 'fix' what has already been conducted.

Archaeological officers are supposed to offer their expert advice, yet they are limited in the areas they can advise on.

An observed difference between city government bodies is that the SHPO and LPC seem less involved in the archaeological community. Although data suggests NYC government officers see it as important to create networks and open channels with other sectors, my observation is that they see it as inappropriate to be a part of the professional archaeological community, most likely because they should be neutral in their position. So, for example, you will not see LPC officers attending PANYC meetings. That relationship is based on formal channels of communication. While there may be off record advice and assistance between officer and professional archaeologist, this seems to be based on a case-by-case basis.

On the other hand, in London, government officers attend events held by the private sector, national or local bodies, academic institutions and local societies. They see it as their role to have a representative present in these events, not to represent their body per se, but to demonstrate that they are active, concerned and interested members of the archaeological community. London government bodies, particularly EH, are involved in extensive research to increase the standards and advance the guidelines of practice and research.

While both government groups collaborate and work with professional bodies (i.e. the IfA in London and the NYAC in NY),¹⁸⁹ the SHPO appears more dependent on NYAC's output on standards and improvements in the profession. EH, on the other hand, seems better resourced and

189 Note that PANYC is not included here as they do not officially have much dialogue or partnership with either SHPO or LPC

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has the capacity and ability to contribute more to the development of archaeology and the historic environment.

The provision of authority over urban conservation given to government bodies is central for a multitude of reasons. The first and most basic is that they are key actors who can recognise and reinforce regulatory systems. They uphold the law, and whether symbolically or practically, they act as a power base which ensures that obligations are adhered to. Despite the strength or weakness of government bodies, in both cities, their very title carries weight in negotiation and influence.

Regardless of their power, archaeologists see government bodies as a source of legitimacy and authority which generally defends the archaeological resource. Interestingly, in their conception they were both viewed with a streak of suspicion, for the very fact that they are part of government. However, over time, they are moving towards being seen as allies. While this is true in both cities, NYC archaeologists still do have their reservations with government archaeology officers, similar to how EH was seen in the 1980s (and sometimes still in snap dark-humoured remarks).

Government bodies do and should act as a central hub of information: they host records and make reports accessible, but their officers also tend to act as bridgers and hubs too. Such a role carried by a select few individuals means that personality traits are at the core of how this information is used, how it flows within and external to the organisation and the very image of the body itself. Strong personalities can steer and raise concerns, make the body more or less influential, or make the body more or less approachable. Because government bodies in both cities are endlessly under political pressures and a part of the power struggles between various government departments and lobbying bodies, it is these bodies and individuals that really do need to liaise with academics, contractors and other archaeologists to produce publications and documents (as was done and effective in the 1970s and 1980s). This united response is a loss which can be recovered. The UK Southport Report (2011) is one recent example, but the impact that had further afield is questionable.

8.3.1.2 Regulatory Tools

Within the context of a neoliberal city with so many contesting narratives, desires and demands, governmental recommendations act as a minimum requirement in a very convoluted power struggle. They set the stage for preservation and are developed to reflect the local conditions and values of the city.

As presented in Chapter 4 and 6, both London and NYC have regulatory tools to ensure that

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archaeology is a material consideration in planning. Archaeology being a part of the planning system is one of the great advances for urban archaeology. Further requirement of a repository staffed with specialised staff, the curation of material culture, a heritage registrar and accessible record, and the allocation of funding for the publication of reports beyond technical field reports should be included in law and supported by adequate budgets.

Regulatory tools *are* flexible, and archaeologists must realise they cannot depend on archaeological law without also being aware of changes in other connected legislation. The interconnectedness of cities makes agendas such as more housing mean, for example, quicker development, greater pressures on LPAs, increased streamlining and potentially hasty archaeological work. Archaeologists in all sectors need to understand the legal processes in which they function, and to be aware of the laws in place. Archaeologists in NYC seem much more aware of their legal positioning and the development-led process of archaeology (most likely a result of CRM in academia), whereas in London this awareness is not as strong. Archaeologists outside of development-led archaeology need to have a connection with changing, weakening or reinterpretable laws.

8.3.1.3 Recommendations

The UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (Section III, No. 23) suggests that:

All levels of government...aware of their responsibility, should contribute to the definition, elaboration, implementation and assessment of urban heritage conservation policies.

It is clear that any city's archaeological heritage cannot be protected solely within the framework of government. The process requires further collaboration and partnership with the archaeological community. The engagement and empowering of the archaeological community on this level is not about less top-down regulation. It is that regulations, research, projects and concerns are guided by local priorities and a shared sense of what matters locally. In this sense, the government has a duty *to be informed*, not to inform necessarily. Engaging in locality includes developing a strategy to overcome community fragmentation: this generally comes through the need of common goals. Urban archaeology in itself – as being a part of institutions situated in urban contexts – is a good start to work towards. Many archaeologists working in the city – regardless of their professional focus being in other areas – *should* have a sense of being an archaeologist working *in a city* and inevitably a part of the city forces and pressures. It would be interesting to work towards a collaborative effort. For example, an initiative such as *Your Role as*

*an Archaeologist Working In This City*¹⁹⁰ may create a sense of unity or inclusiveness: what impact each archaeologist has in the city he or she works in. In a sense, this notion is extending the concept of specialist groups to focus on the ‘urban’. Websites (such as urban-archaeology.blogspot.co.uk) are great initiatives by individuals or small groups, but larger projects that achieve this are likely to be education based. For example, the *My Place* project (2012-2014), funded by Heritage Lottery, was facilitated by a number of agencies (i.e. the Archaeological Services West Yorkshire, Bradford Museums and Galleries, and two theatre companies) to explore local heritage and help create community. The outcome was successful in that it garnered interest from the local community, and simultaneously led to different groups working together for a common cause. These initiatives bring more awareness to the community, who ultimately are the ones who influence what government decides to support or not.

8.3.2 Academic Institutions and Other Learning Bodies

In this section, I mix academic institutions with what I call ‘learning bodies’. Earlier, I discuss museums and repositories independently, and often under the context of government bodies, because – in fact – they are (or should be) predominantly funded and supported by government. However, here, I group them alongside academia to demonstrate their primary role as learning bodies, as bodies of and for the spread of knowledge. In this way I hope to demonstrate that regardless of funding, this is their purpose.

8.3.2.1 Roles and Observations

In both London and NYC, the increasing separation of academic institutions, as well as the commercialisation of academia, is observed. It is easy to argue, as some have, that the role of academic institutions is not to cater for the local CRM archaeologist, but to ensure that students are capable to transfer their acquired skills and knowledge to any context. While this is true, many academic institutions (such as the IoA in London, and CUNY in Albany, NYS) witness the true benefits that engagement with the local community have, for both the institution and for the students. In addition to the experience and skillset students acquire, engagement between academics and their local environment further strengthens policymaking in local government, and also has the power to filter higher in government (UK Government Office for Science, 2013). As quangos and government bodies close or risk sizeable funding cuts, we will see that academic institutions will need to become more involved in research and publishing White Paper reports. By academic institutions establishing strong local networks and creating visible links with the local community, they increase their influence within constituencies and raise local awareness of

¹⁹⁰ This is a hypothetical example

archaeology and the need for preservation. As global cities turn their unique cultural landscapes into homes for trans-national corporations, making the urban fabric become cookie-cut templates around the world, these local movements and an understanding of how archaeology forms a part of historic preservation are vital.

‘Academic engagement is knowledge-related collaboration by academic researchers with non-academic organisations; interactions include formal activities such as collaborative research, contract research and consulting, as well as informal activities like providing ad hoc advice and networking with practitioners’ (Perkmann et al., 2013: 424). In London and NYC, we do see involvement through various projects and partnerships, and it is unlikely that this will ever end. The IoA, for example, has a great undergraduate programme where students are directly engaging with the LAARC, the TDP, contractors and other London bodies. These activities are successful and need to be recognised for their positive outcomes.

Another point to consider is the commercialisation of academia. Universities and the academic community have become largely silenced as a source of dissent and independent critical thought (Miller & Philo, 2002). Controversial issues are avoided, and freedom of speech by academics is curbed by institutional policies. Both UK and US universities are increasingly accepting corporate sponsorship and donations from companies, more particular for STEM subjects.¹⁹¹ UCL is in corporate sponsorship with twelve different multinational companies;¹⁹² NYU equally has numerous industrial partnerships which are identifiable through each department. Pressure on academics to bring in money leads them to conform to the research priorities of funding bodies. It also leads them, as findings demonstrate, to concentrate on high visibility projects to the detriment of other significant work.

As for museums and repositories, results suggest that the existence of an archaeological museum and a repository is one of the most important resources that (a) link all the archaeological community together through an organic and natural connection with all sectors; (b) provides the ability to transform *output* into *outcome*, and *information* into *knowledge*; (c) shows the archaeologists how valuable and useful their work through exhibitions and story-telling; (d) ensures that archaeology is not simply about digging, but that it is a process (Figure 121).

¹⁹¹ STEM is Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths subjects. Cambridge University received millions in donations from Bill Gates, BP and Unilever towards institutes such as petroleum sciences, applied pharmacology, and other social and natural science departments.

¹⁹² See <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/enterprise/corporate-partnerships/companies>

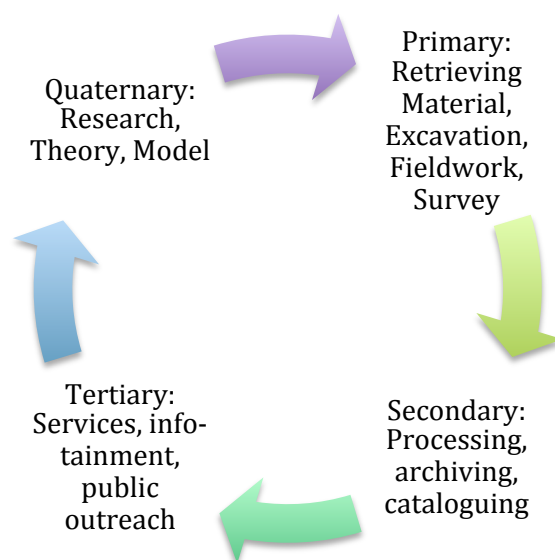


Figure 121 The Archaeological Cycle Economy

8.3.2.2 Recommendations

Simple and practical considerations can be used to improve academia's position in the city. I should point out that there are very successful projects and partnerships that exist: these should be identified by the academic institution and taken further, developing new research that comes out of academia. The diffusion of institutional ideas has made extensive use of networks, and through creating strong ties, can become powerful pressure-bodies in society. The more academic institutions look to each other to see successful strategies, and work together – rather than competitively – to develop strong academic bodies, the better they can then introduce innovative ideas impact sectors both horizontally and vertically.

I would suggest that academic institutions should take the same initiative as proposed in Section 8.3.1.3: they need to create a platform for archaeologists to engage in the city by motivating them to use their own abilities and expertise within a local context. It does not seem out of place for regular informative updates to be set in place, which highlight current changes in law and funding that have a direct impact on the way archaeology is practised within a local context. The facilitation of continuous interaction between individuals and the ability to encourage and facilitate information flow is necessary through providing appropriate infrastructure. Also, developing a model that can capture the natural dynamics of individuals and how they interact with others in their social network is worth understanding to set up relevant infrastructure and channels.

We see universities push towards impact and relevance today as part of pressures driven by

government and institutional policy insisting Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) become more relevant and deliver value for money. Competitive markets and employability are major concerns which can often be counter-productive for a sharing environment. However, as more policy points towards building HEI-industry relationships, we see the value that these partnerships provide for student training beyond the confines of academia. STEM subjects flourish in this, and consequently have garnered significant private sector support, which has also led to increases in government funding. Archaeology-focused academia could do well to take example of this, and begin developing partnerships.

8.3.3 *The Private Sector*

The private sector includes many groups: consultants, specialists, CRM/contract firms, and freelance archaeologists. London and NYC do differ in that London's contract archaeologists mostly came out of being employed by the state; NYC's CRM archaeologists mostly came from academia.

8.3.3.1 Roles and Observations

Both cities have demonstrated the benefits of the private sector: there is money, there are increasing standards, use of new techniques, backing by regulation, inclusion in the planning process, more employment, access to sites. There are benefits. However, I am not convinced from the qualitative data here that it is necessarily progressive in terms of providing an innovative environment, increasing standards, providing better work conditions, being empowered to speak up, creating the ability to compare sites, and raising awareness.

On a network level, the private sector in both cities appears to have quite strong channels and communication levels between themselves. Findings reveal that their network of specialists and archaeologists act as bridges across the various companies, and that management tend to know each other, either having worked on similar projects prior, attending the same university, or simply through their position. Most archaeologists and specialists contract in different companies, so we can see an organic transfer of skill and knowledge irrespective of a competitive environment that may not support innovation. On this level, there is a high level of cross-fertilisation of ideas, knowledge and skills.

However, in cities there is a risk of the practice of urban archaeology being dominated by the dynamics of development-led archaeology. Private companies think of their investment in training archaeologists in terms of what they get in return, without understanding the common

benefits to the profession their investment of time, money and mentoring may have. To have a common vision beyond the goal of sustaining a business – but rather to produce positive outcomes for the whole profession to benefit – is not yet strongly developed. The antagonistic relationship with academic institutions is a case in point. The data here shows that private companies tend to work and drive towards their own independent agendas, without recognising the potential benefits of partnership strategies within a business model. However, if we are to see the role of the private sector develop into as something more substantial rather than simply compliance with the law, then they need to mobilise themselves and create stronger partnerships on a wider scale.

It is clear that the complication with the private sector is that their role and responsibility is to provide a service within a framework of planning process compliance. The law is that archaeology should be considered and protected to the best capacity, which is open to interpretation. The transaction is basic and simple. Development-led archaeology's survival is based on winning planning contracts, doing them quickly, swiftly, and well enough to clear off conditions. That role requires nothing more, and so assists in reducing archaeology to simply compliance.

8.3.3.2 Recommendations

The increased pressure from a multitude of stakeholders within city environments makes development-led archaeology more complicated than other contexts. Archaeologists from both cities are not blind to the gaps, pressures and fragmentation of archaeology; it would also be incorrect to suggest nothing has been done to reconcile issues and challenges raised in this thesis. There are many endeavours in both cities that aim to better develop channels of communication and outreach, so I will not suggest what is already being done.

However, management of private companies has the ability to create their own internal support system, to deal with internal processes, which will influence the greater organisational landscape. They must also consider the social context (Chapter 3) which shapes and confines behaviour. As discussed in Chapter 2, performance typically depends on the work of individuals and so team building is critical for a sense of motivation and belonging.

The figure below compares differences between team culture from the 1980s and now. Greenberg & Baron (2003: 293) suggest that teams in the 1980s made a greater effort to have high levels of camaraderie and were more concerned of enhancing good feelings, whereas nowadays the emphasis is on achieving high levels of performance. We can actually see that from the findings presented in this paper.

TEAMS IN THE 1980s		TEAMS TODAY
To enhance good feeling	← Underlying Purpose →	To enhance productivity
One formal leader	← Leadership →	Depends on the project
Upper organisational levels	← Organisational Level →	All organisational levels
Individual accomplishments	← Performance Appraisal →	Team accomplishments
Feelings of members	← Measure of Effectiveness →	Attainment of team goals
Interpersonal skills, getting along with each other	← Typical Training →	Wide variety of job skills, communication skills

Figure 122 Difference between team orientation over the years. (Greenberg & Baron, 2003: 293)

Tools for building strong teams include developing/sustaining high motivation; minimising confusion/coordination problems; fostering creativity/innovation and developing clear goals (Thompson, 2008). These are all raised in Chapter 2. The context of the team – such as its internal processes and external opportunities/constraints – affects the team’s ability to perform effectively, build and sustain motivation, and coordinate people, as we have seen.

The fragmentary situation in this case has been around for a long time: despite great efforts in the past and on-going today to create stronger ties and relationships between various sectors, recognition of the competitive element remains apparent. For example, seminars and events that encourage stronger partnership may produce good ideas and results, but these results are not disseminated through media beyond one’s own closed network because – quite simply – it is a competitive advantage. The move towards greater integration, strong training programmes, and strategies to encourage more outreach, have simply become a competitive added value for the business in itself. This is something that the private sector has to overcome: the ownership and commercialisation of increased synergy that benefits the greater community should be avoided, and not be profited off in isolated manners.

A forum or platform with podcasts and videos of independent projects should be shared online, rather than waiting for credited publications to emerge. The reality of creating a greater community is that a common goal is fed into without necessarily seeking independent accreditation. While at first some companies may feel that they are investing more time-wise, money-wise and resource-wise than others, the inevitable result will be that in time the entire community will benefit.

The *Day of Archaeology* project is a fantastic example of how simple efforts not only bring in a huge audience, but also create a sense of value amongst archaeologists. The project asks archaeologists to record their day and share it via text, images or video online, or via twitter

(#dayinarchaeology). Beginning in 2011 with just over 400 contributing archaeologists, the project now has over 1,000 registered users, and on Facebook has grown by 263.6%.¹⁹³ These sorts of simple and engaging initiatives are both fantastic for public outreach and simultaneously create a sense of pride, value and cohesion amongst the archaeology community.

8.3.4 National and Local Non-Governmental Organisations

When I began this research, I did not know much about national or local organisations nor did I note what relevance they had to my personal career progression or interests. Like many others interviewed for this research, I would acknowledge their work as positive, but did little to be involved or help their causes.

8.3.4.1 Roles and Observations

Local and national organisations are extremely important: they lobby, they gain attention, they highlight concerns and issues, they research towards better practice, they involve the public, they support the profession, and they have the capacity to speak on behalf of the profession.

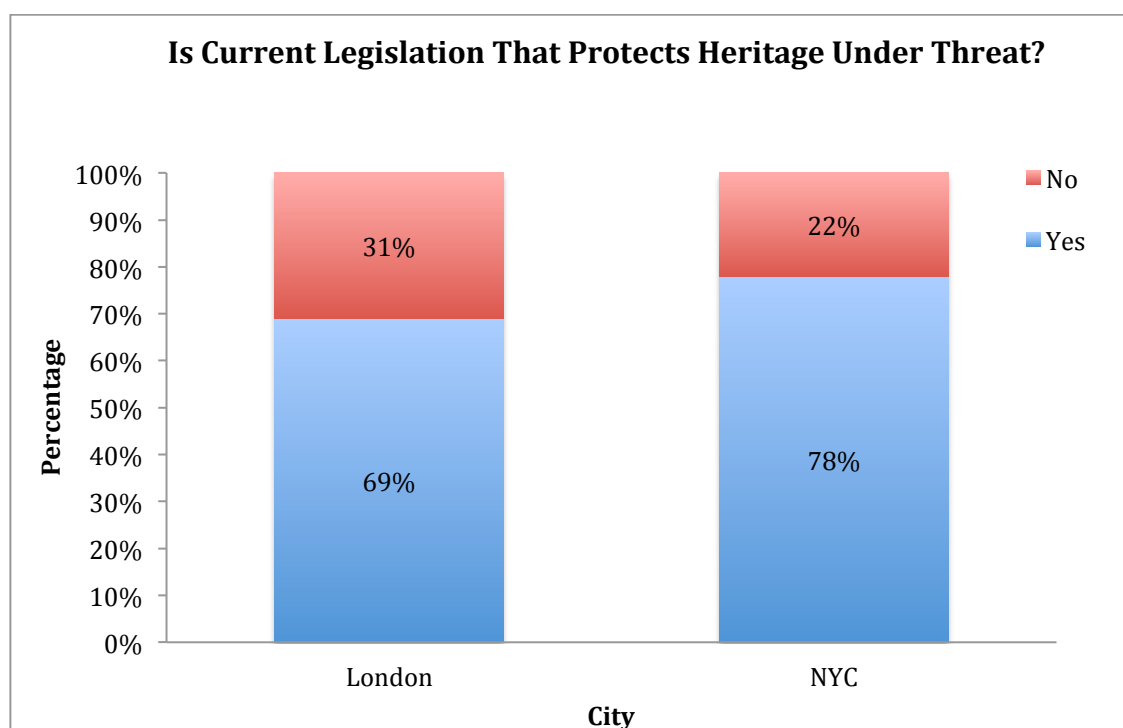


Figure 123 Comparative analysis: Is legislation threatened?

¹⁹³ See www.dayofarchaeology.com

Figure 123 illustrates the perception from London and NYC archaeologists as to whether they see protective legislation as under threat, either through being weakened, streamlined or altogether dropped. In both cities, it is largely the national and local organisations that fight for these causes, raise red flags when worrying discussions arise in government or with developments, and also – in general – try to pull together different sectors. They often do succeed.

As we have seen, there are different roles and agendas, and different membership costs and services. In the two cities, London tends to be more connected to their national organisations than NYC, whose primary allegiance is to PANYC.

One of the primary goals that many of the organisations attend to in both the US and the UK is to create frameworks, guidelines, recommendations or strategies for improving and promoting standards, public participation, code of ethics, and other issues concerning conservation and heritage management.

8.3.4.2 Recommendations

Findings for national and local groups obviously are varied depending on the group. However, one point that stands out regarding these organisations is they are great agents of networking. While they may all fill particular gaps in the organisational landscape, or indeed quench specialised interests, facilitating further involvement from the archaeological community is something they need to consider. Membership fees and annual events in cities that may be too far must be addressed: these two points are raised in both cities, as cost of memberships and convenience for involvement may act as obstacles to greater involvement from the archaeological community.

The *Festival of Archaeology* organised by the CBA in the UK, for example, is an excellent opportunity to bring awareness to archaeology (see www.archaeologyfestival.org.uk) over two weeks, making the opportunity to participate easier. These sorts of events create a great public awareness but also enable archaeologists to participate in whatever way they may seem appropriate to them.

Professionally, there are fantastic conferences held by a range of organisations. Many of them often quite expensive to attend however some archaeologists may get these fees covered. Archaeologists in both cities voice the incredible benefits of these conferences, particularly networking. Face-to-face contact and connection is important. However, again, these events must be made open access on the Internet: they should be recorded and shared for those in the community who cannot attend for whatever reason. The knowledge and information shared there,

should be shared with everyone. This is particularly important for the NYC archaeologists who find it more difficult to attend regional events: as independent small contractors, it is neither convenient nor cheap to attend conferences outside of the city.

8.4 The Urban Landscape: Rethinking Urban Strategies

To summarise above briefly, Figure 124 illustrates the necessary organisations that need to exist but that also need to have an adequate amount of resources to function well and benefit the archaeological community. We have already discussed their roles, and how they serve the community. While these organisations are critical, it is my suggestion that the direction they take should be shaped by understanding the individuals and groups that work in archaeology and transforming proactively rather than reactively to challenges.



Figure 124 Essential organisations

The success of infrastructure and tools being set up is dependent on how the profession functions beneath the surface, that is, the level of an integrative, collaborative and networked community. While we witness huge sacrifices and work from countless individuals and organisations, they can only really succeed by being an integral part of how archaeology functions, rather than filling gaps and holes (often on minimal funding and resources) that are endemic to the current archaeological structure.

Rethinking **norms** in this research has pointed to how important communication, partnerships, horizons of observation, networking and establishing common goals are. One of the initial steps to create a sustainable and valued profession is to first create a synergy within our own fragmented community. There are numerous examples of small-scale projects that have successfully created partnerships and built strong ties amongst different groups of the archaeology

community: York in the UK and Albany in NYS have established strong networks between universities, local societies and also development-led companies. While working with smaller networks may be an easier process (but potentially involve more people-politics as the community is smaller), very similar strategies can be applied to larger networks, which include big projects and cities. In short, simple solutions work well for generating sustainable relationships.

There are two kinds of networking: facilitating or bridging two groups of people yields access, resources, innovation, impact and profit; building bonds between individuals and groups yields affinity, belonging, trust, support and a community. There are also different styles of negotiation. Figure 125, for example, demonstrates how concern for relationship and outcome produce different styles of negotiating and communicating, which inevitably affects outcomes of situations.

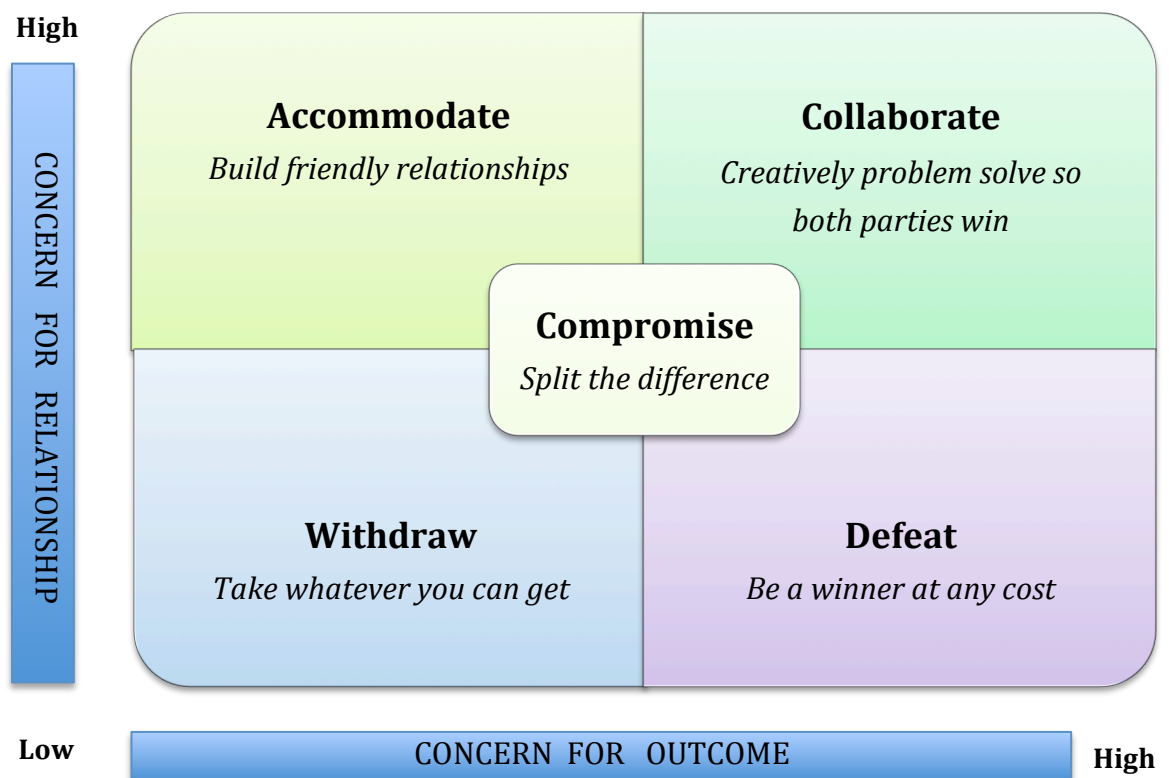


Figure 125 Negotiation depends on concern for outcome and concern for the relationship; each concern interacts with the other and produces the style of negotiating (from Jenson, 2011)

The findings of this work show that concern for relationship or outcome is very much project-specific and dependent on the individual in charge. Often, archaeologists tend to focus on one of the concerns without considering the other: the situations in London and NYC (the Rose Theatre and African Burial Ground respectively) may be seen as a ‘Defeat’ style of negotiating, where the

concern was predominantly about the outcome, and about the push to get archaeology recognised in politics. This was a style of negotiating that was needed for those two situations: concern of external relationships in these situations is not an issue; it is rather the *renegotiation* of existing relationships.

With an increasingly harsh economy and minimalist mindset, I would argue results from the study demonstrate we are increasingly withdrawing and settling for whatever we can get. This is not due to a lack of care or interest, but because the hostile environment is squeezing capacities to function. The commonalities found in both cities (see *Emerging Themes* Sections), can be reconciled.

8.4.1 *The Holistic Approach*

The theme of the holistic approach is more than just comparative research of sites to develop bigger pictures in understanding sites and projects. As discussed for both London and NYC, it is about support, collaboration, communication and building partnerships. In short, it is about creating an environment where the profession becomes an *open source* and *open flow* of information, skills and knowledge to aim towards improving itself through this constant flow of communication and collaborative efforts. This movement is not only about progressing as a profession, but it is equally about concerns raised in Chapter 3 regarding new forms of city governance which are threatening democratic and participatory structures in place. Figure 126 is a good example taken from ‘Open Government’ approaches, which is easily adoptable into archaeology. The main focus for archaeology, I would suggest, is the collaboration circle, which advocates the need to promote open democracy through breaking down hierarchal structures internally and externally, and to encourage work between public authorities, NGOs, companies and other stakeholders. The *Neighborhood Preservation Center* (Section 7.2.7.1) is a fantastic example of facilitating exchange among all stakeholders interested or involved in historic preservation and archaeology. They are, in fact, a center for sharing information, and actually have the potential to grow further and facilitate collaborative efforts or partnership building. Organisations that tend to have no political or self-interest agenda, and equally are not profit-driven, are often the best drivers for these initiatives.

In Chapter 2 we saw how social capital, communication, collaboration and support help create an integrated community. This then creates an innovative community, a creative milieu. In Chapters 5 and 7 for London and NYC respectively, we saw how these points fit into context and how they play out through existing organisations: the community has the potential for integration through increasing channels and networks and encouraging members/employees to engage with each other. Currently in both cities, and indeed in many projects around the world, projects are set up

in some circles without the strong motivation and attitude to share and communicate *at the moment*, but rather share and communicate successes or obstacles after the project is complete. Digital technologies are slowly changing this as more individuals and companies embrace its potential for public support. Crowd-sourcing is one of many innovative ways to see how communication and collaboration can create an integrated community, even online. New projects such as the *MicroPasts Project* developed by London's UCL and the British Museum demonstrate how new knowledge can be created through a physical or online creative milieu

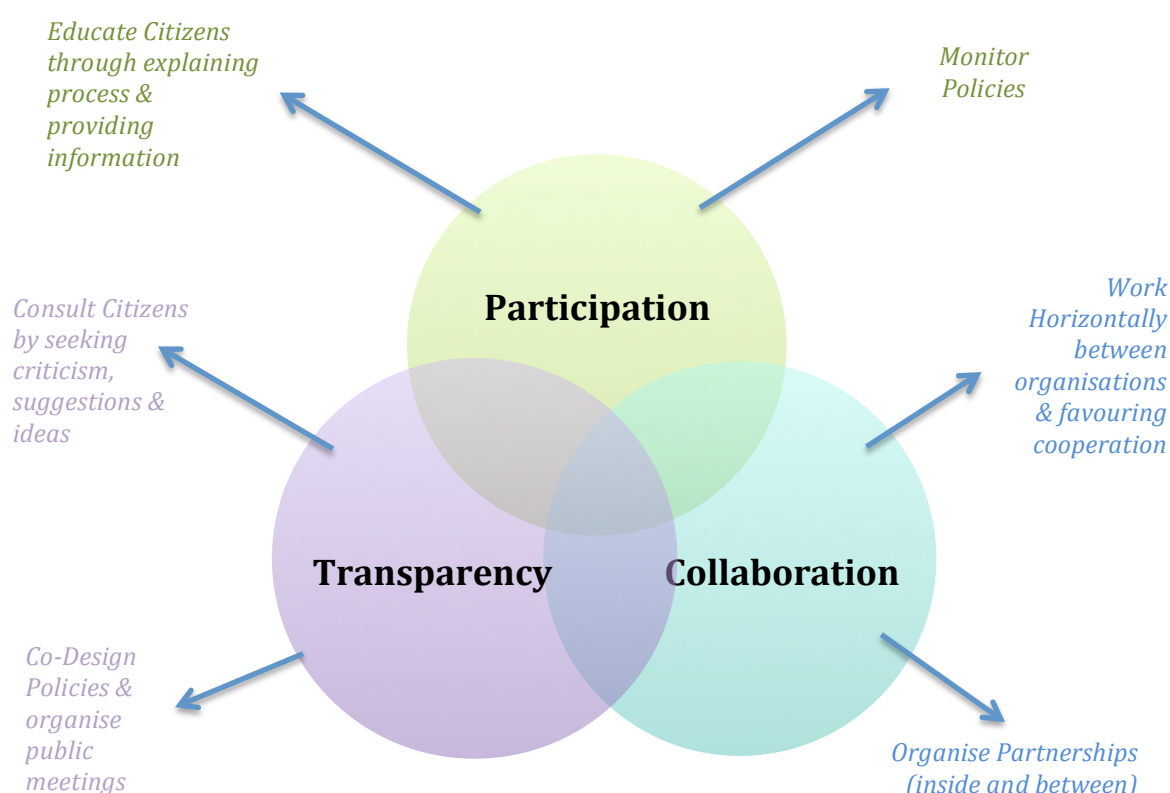


Figure 126 Encouraging open knowledge, open access and open scholarship in archaeology (image adopted from *democratieouverte.org*)

Figure 127 is a visual representation of how London and NYC archaeology communities compare in their view of whether there is a lack of holistic approaches.

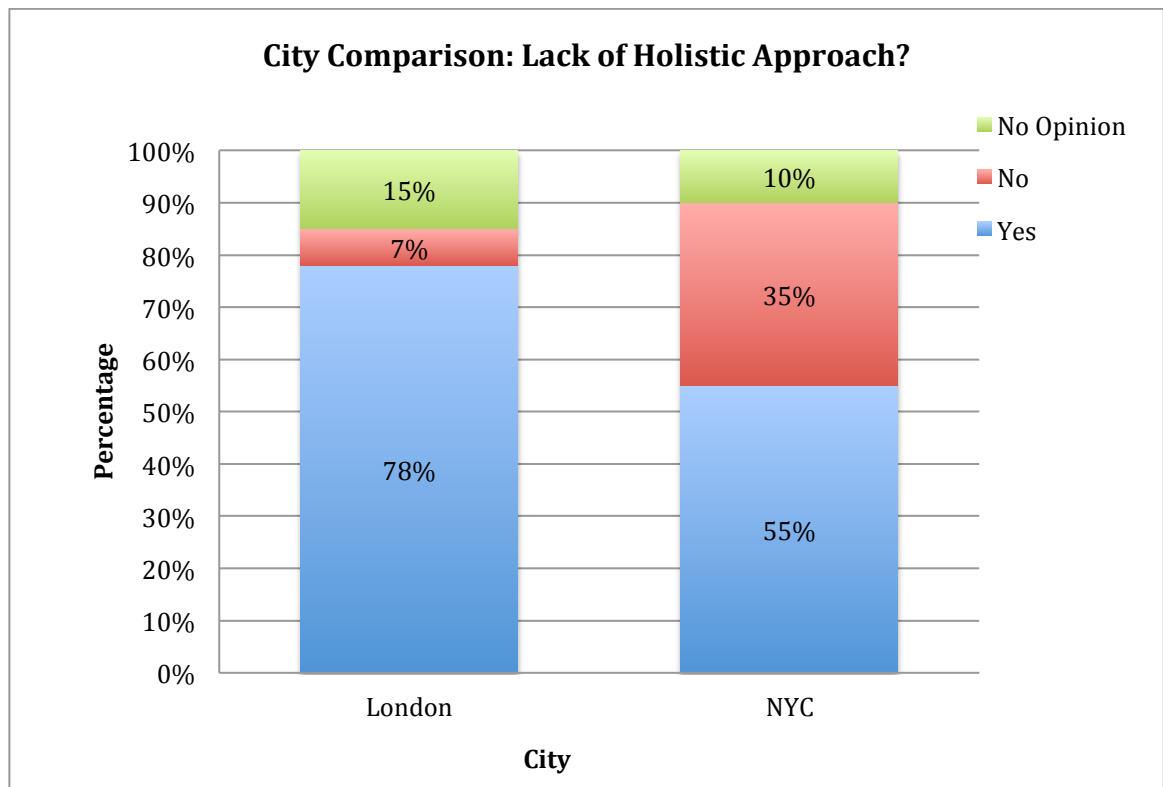


Figure 127 Comparative analysis: Holistic approaches in LDN and NYC

Findings indicate that London archaeologists perceive a lack of a holistic approach 28% more than NYC. Looking at the cities separately, NYC has less external support, more bullying from developers and higher levels of competition compared to London (Figure 128). Their approach to archaeology comes from a different background, and their set up is small and seemingly more hierarchical. The fact that both cities see this as an issue point to it being endemic to the way urban archaeology has developed, and also how these developments are more emphasised within city contexts.

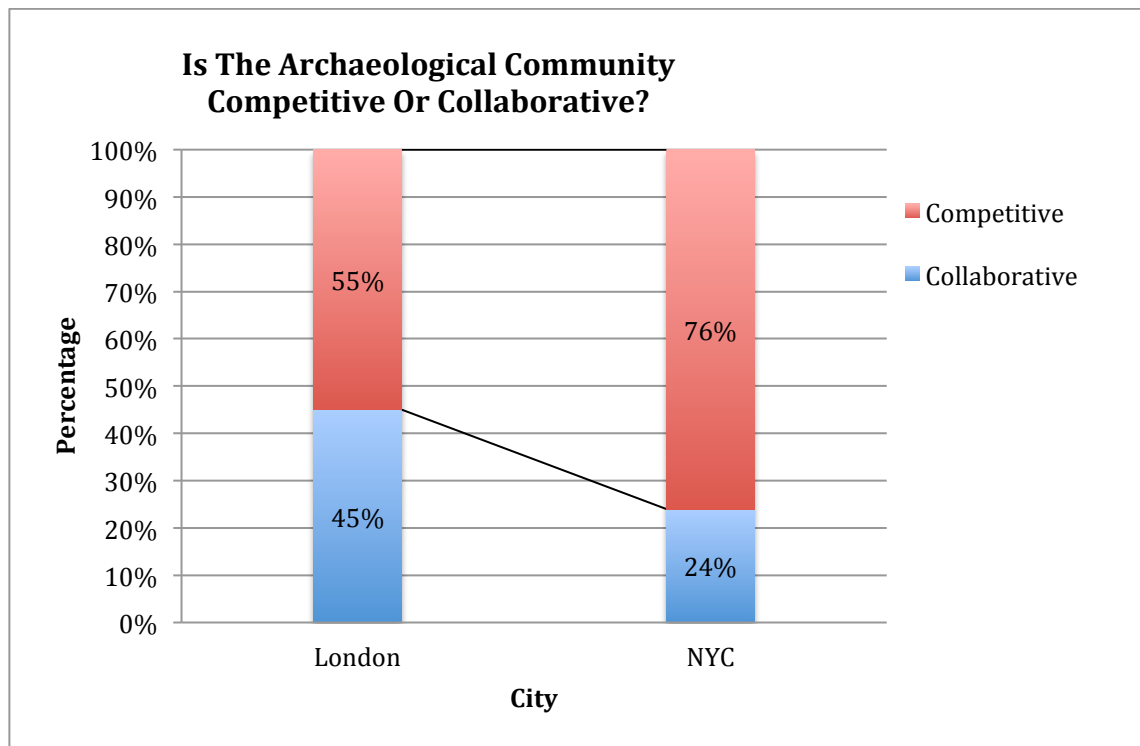


Figure 128 Comparative Analysis: Views On Competition Versus Collaboration

Obviously one of the main obstacles to a more integrated environment is the need to compete for resources, jobs, positions, projects and so on, on a regular basis. Even in small group projects, individuals tend to work towards getting credit, visibility, and recognition rather than working towards conditions for successful team performance. Where this is not the case, we can observe strong efforts to accomplish fantastic projects, coordinate activities, communication and pull together the community through different social events and media. While this is something that we see significantly in London, potential for NYC to develop down-up projects and collaborations is needed and is possible by encouraging, motivating and supporting the younger generation to get directly involved with the NYC archaeology community.

Many international and national recommendations and guidelines address a lot of these points (Chapter 1). While these documents have fantastic approaches, well-thought plans and structures, their implementation is based largely – if not completely – on the attitudes and motivations of individuals within the community. Quite simply, further positive structuring is based on the potential and the will of actors to engage with their networks. While we witness many strong movements coming from bottom-up approaches, my observation is that a cohesive environment can only succeed if effort is made from both top and bottom. Networks are highly dependent on attitudes, personalities and perceived roles and understandings of those involved. Thus, what is

required to encourage and overcome challenges to collaboration is increased focus on information and training, long term and strategic planning of goals and targets, an open discussion to bridge the divide of consensus, and the need to find and return to common interests and goals.

8.4.2 Standards, Values and Professionalisation

Standards, values and the professionalisation of archaeology are issues that sit together in one theme (Sections 5.3.2 and 7.3.2): in these sections, we delve deep into understanding perceptions of values and standards. As we see in Figure 129, 32% more Londoners feel that values are under threat than New Yorkers, despite archaeology in NYC being far less supported than London.

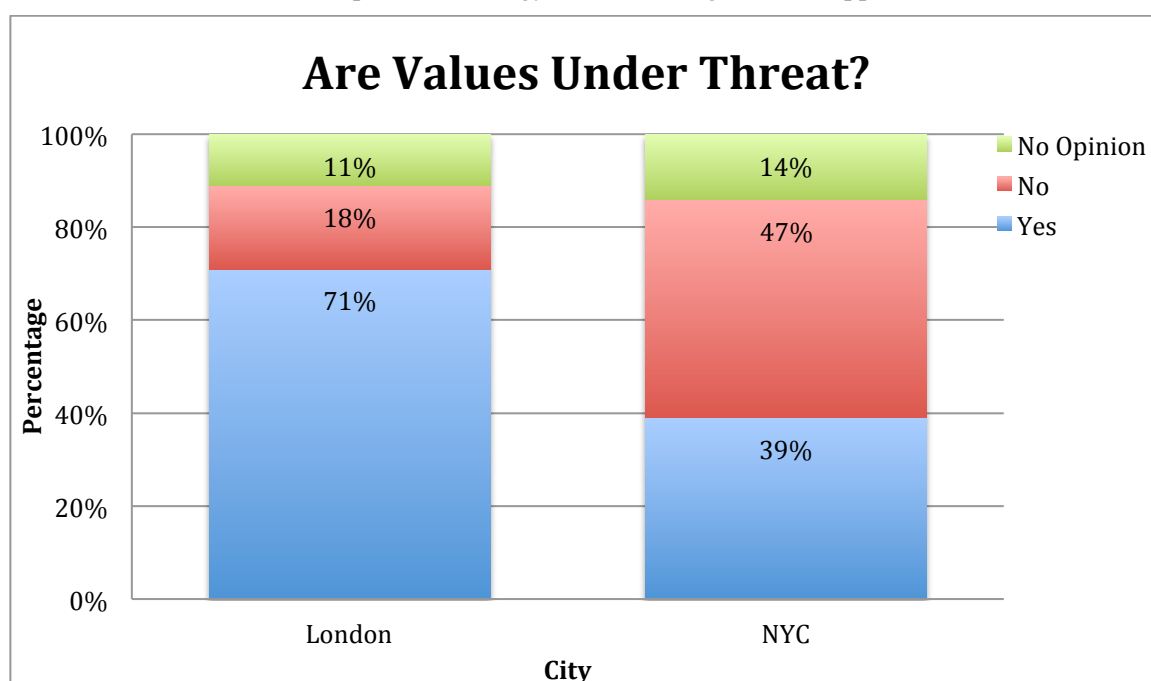


Figure 129 Comparative Analysis: Do Londoners and New Yorkers think values are under threat?

These results are more to do with individual perception than actual environment. In London, there is a very visible decline in funding for many of the institutions that are important to archaeology: this includes the CBA, English Heritage, museums, universities, local authorities. Redundancies during the Credit Crunch impacted the immediate environment we work in; people known in the community. Changes in policy brought about concern as culture became an asset. In NYC, however, these were not seen. Independent firms felt the pressure of a declining economy, but as most CRM archaeologists own their own firms, they did not see the mass redundancies. They did not see defunding of organisations, because there is only PANYC in NYC. They did not see the closing of museums – apart from Gotham Unearthed, which was

already privately-funded – because their museums are large privately-funded museums or small historical house museums. They did not see university fees rise. Nor do they have the same local authority structure to see threats to those services. In that sense, the services and bodies available in London do not exist in NYC, so beyond the threats that they have always had (such as archaeology on private property and battles with developers), not much has changed for the worse.

Historical settings aside, the professionalisation of urban archaeology in both cities has developed through a reactive response to external changes and legislative requirements. Our circle of concern played a more dominant role than our circle of influence (Figure 2). This has led to complications as important factors of how archaeology functions were not considered in the management planning of archaeology within the development-led industry. These factors include the recognition that archaeology is more than simply salvaging material. Unavailable resources and insufficient collaborations have negatively impacted the ability to maintain and sustain archaeology as a research-driven and comparative discipline. Indeed, in Chapters 5 and 7 I have highlighted important factors that are necessary to consider in any management planning process. It is important to recognise the strengths and weaknesses of the current framework in place, which includes legal and policy frameworks governing the city, allocation of resources and responsibilities, and community dynamics.

In this sense, the research gathered here acts as an asset for consideration when examining strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats perceived by the community (known as a SWOT analysis). Having substantial input from key players informs us of the setting in which we work and provides insight to barriers and obstacles so that they can be counteracted.

Figure 130 demonstrates how simple weaknesses while engaging in social change processes can grow into a difficult cycle to change. Consequences include moral decline and a drop of standards.

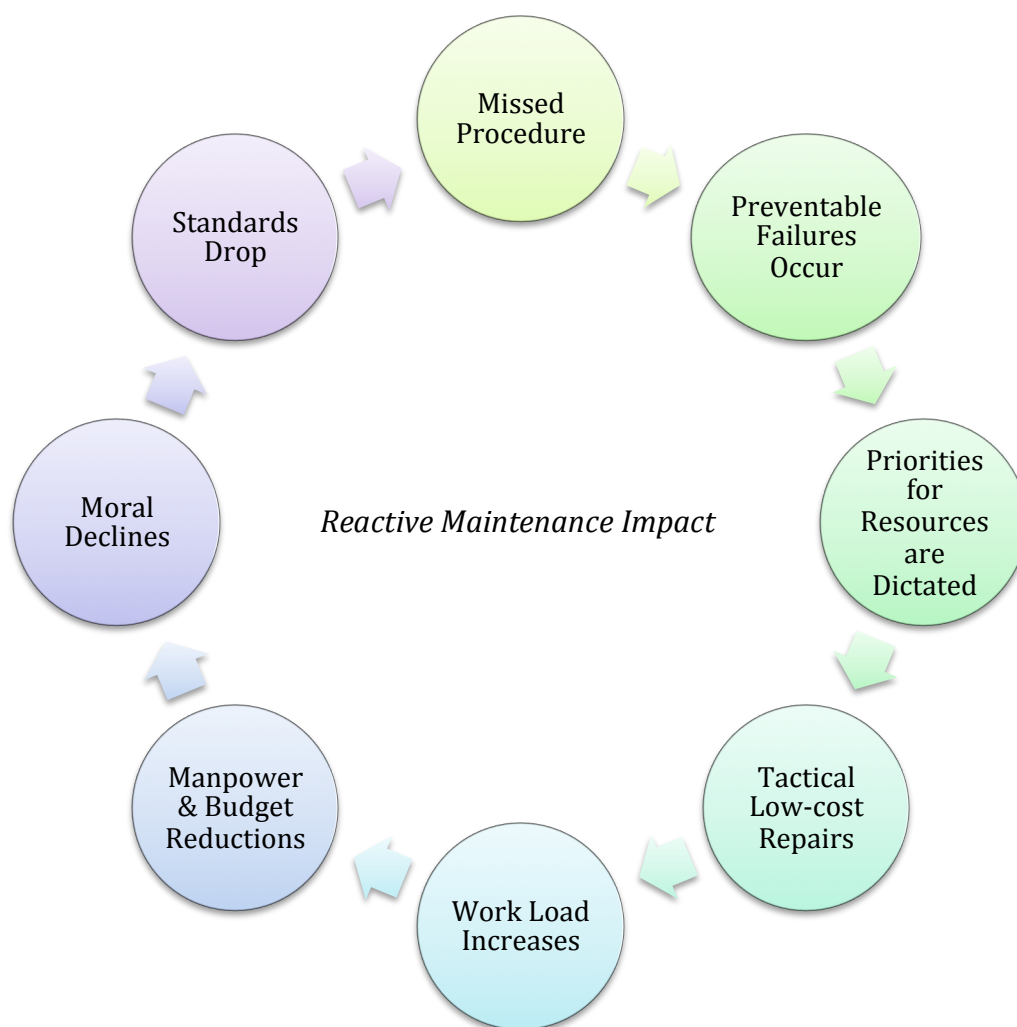


Figure 130 The cycle of how reactive approaches yield poor outcomes

These cycles can be overcome by exploring new solutions to problems. Capacity-building, the ‘ability of individuals, organisations and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner’ (UNESCO, 2011) can drive and develop the profession – through individuals – to improve approaches and develop stronger partnerships and networks between institutions and archaeologists, and with time the wider environment with all its stakeholders.

More importantly, building the archaeological community has one huge benefit: informing policy. Figure 131 is a graph taken from an EC initiative to promote partnerships through informing policy-makers.

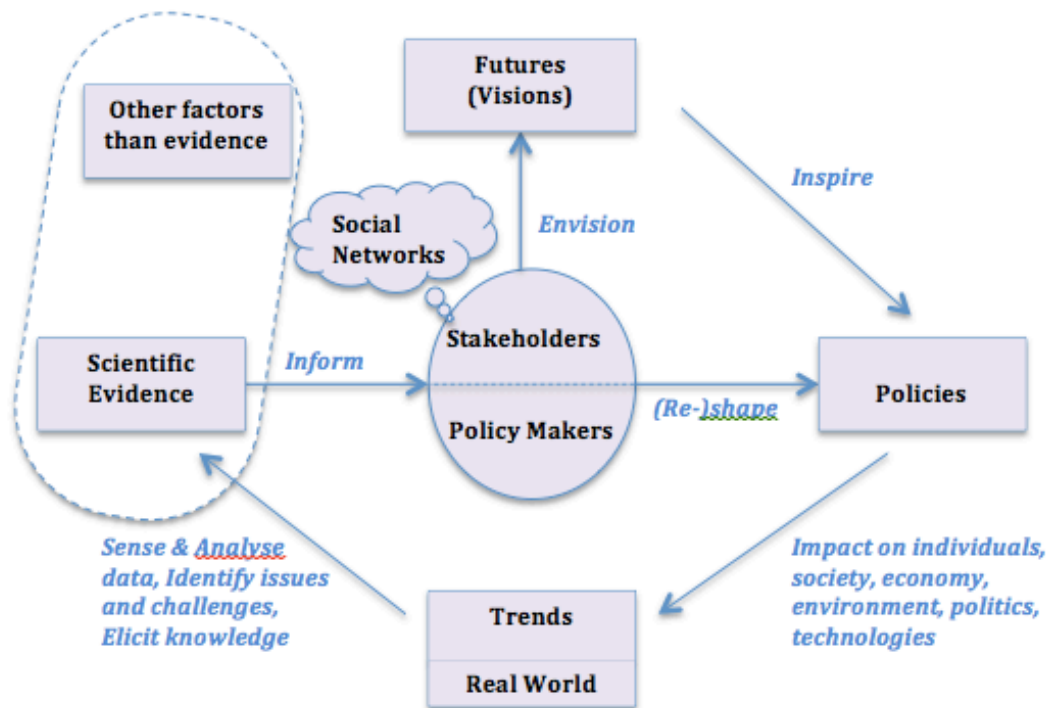


Figure 131 Build on scientific evidence and people's opinion to inform policy¹⁹⁴

The graph represents the dynamics between how stakeholders involved in archaeology can work towards building better understandings and values within their own society through directly being a part of it. At present, findings indicate that we are far removed, save for the development-led sector. This sector *cannot* and *should not* be sole representative of archaeology in the city.

8.4.3 The Role of the Individual and the Importance of Networking

In all result sections of this thesis, we see the importance of the individual. The individual is the main and most critical actor in the social capital context (Figure 132). Personal characteristics together with an individual's organisational position work together and have influence over others. The capacity to be able to exercise this influence and have a desired effect is how we can judge whether influence is successful or not – although desired effect can be motivated by either the desire to satisfy organisational goals, or personal interests.

¹⁹⁴ Taken from the European Commission's 'Digital Agenda for Europe: A Europe 2020 Initiative' retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/policy-making-30-0>

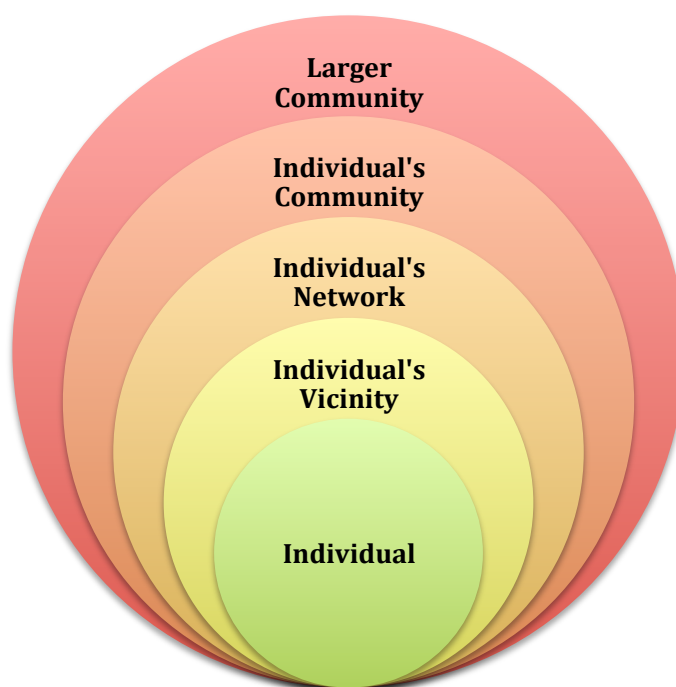


Figure 132 Social capital network

Being a part of a larger community – or even a part of a small team – does require interpersonal skills: these include being able to effectively listen to others and draw out information that can be learned from, to align personal objectives with team objects, to value the differences between other actor's roles and responsibilities, and to realise and be aware of one's role in guiding success. Support, communication and the promotion of cooperation within and between groups are absolutely necessary for successful community-building.

Figure 133 shows a considerably high percentage of participants in both cities that feel the community is fragmented. Results presented demonstrate these are due to, but not exclusively, the following: an unwillingness to cooperate with each other on a larger, institutionalised level; the inefficiency from management or structures to provide the necessary support; an unwillingness to relinquish control; a competitive environment which does not encourage cooperation with other groups; and a lack of finding common agendas for the greater community which can lead to consensus. These are very generalised challenges, but they have been contextualised in the previous chapters.

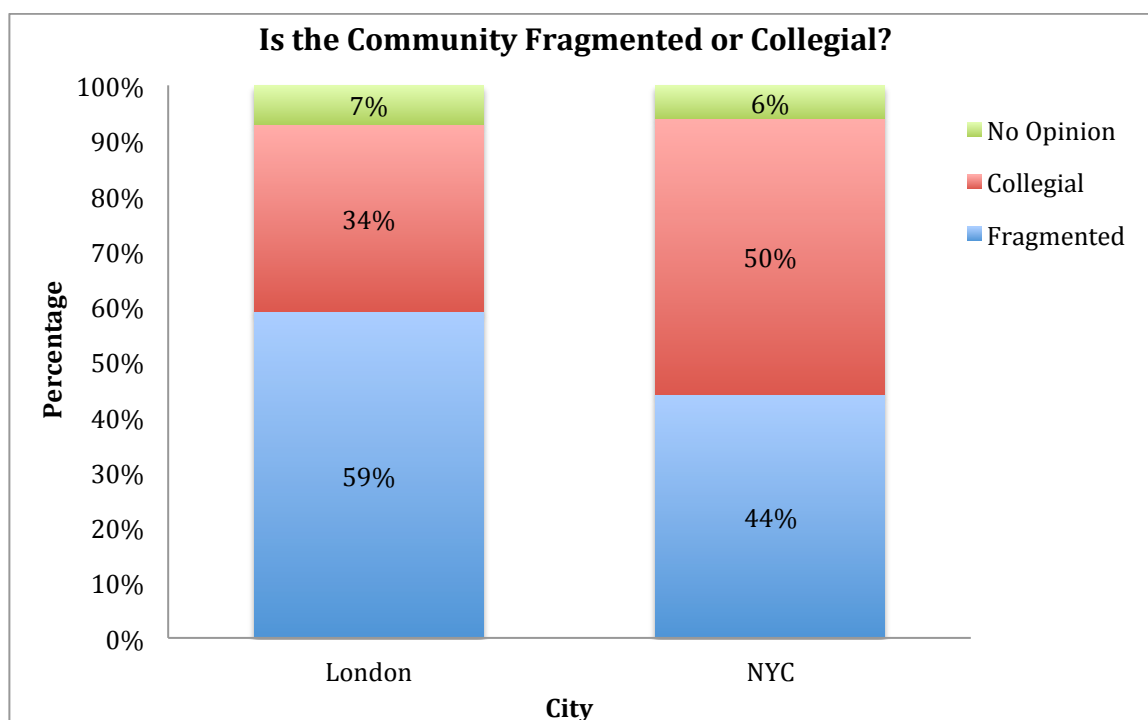


Figure 133 Comparative Analysis Between LDN and NYC's perceptions on their community

The importance of norms, roles, status and cohesiveness within the archaeological community are underestimated: however these factors determine the dynamics of individuals working in urban archaeology, but most importantly, are so politically charged in sectors that it makes it difficult to discuss the fragmentation with any real practical outcome. Countless papers, seminars, conferences and workshops are held in the name of overcoming issues that have been occurring for many years. They have the potential for increased success through developing them as prescriptive norms, norms that should be performed and eventually naturalise after pressure to conform.

8.5 Implications for Urban Archaeology

The implications that a neoliberal context has on archaeology are many: a selection is presented in this paper. To creatively discuss other alternatives which may be adapted into current practice is the main goal of this paper. It focuses on understanding relationships, dynamics and perceptions. Development-led archaeology is at the centre of urban archaeology in London and NYC. It feeds urban archaeology financially, and also has provided a seat for archaeologists at the planning table through access to sites and inclusion in decisions. However, it leaves little room for intellectual engagement and innovative thinking.

It is clear from the results presented here that archaeologists would love to have the resources,

CHAPTER EIGHT: QUESTIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

funding, time and capacity to do more justice to the archaeology in cities. The academic, government, private and local or national society sectors are very much limited by the role of compliance driven by the development industry. There have been and are numerous benefits to archaeology's place within that, however economic prioritisation has brought forward the concern to whether urban archaeological practice increasingly ceases to be beneficial or advantageous in terms of how we value, care, interpret and integrate it into larger society.

This concern is contextualised in the tradition that archaeology is for the public benefit. In both London and New York City, Rescue/Salvage archaeology of the 1960s was seen as a social movement fought for the public good. Archaeology was a public benefit, which *served* the public; not clients. In some sense there was a moral obligation to protect and preserve the archaeology from senseless destruction witnessed by communities. We have seen how archaeologists who worked during this time view it with a romanticised sense of nostalgia; they reflect on it as a time of camaraderie, excitement and a profession with an innocence – perhaps because, unlike now, it was not structured by business.

Now, urban archaeologists feel the main bulk of their work is, or connected to, mitigation and compliance, rather than research, interpretation and a further holistic understanding of material culture. The laws and frameworks that brought it to its heights simultaneously brought it to its knees, as the trade off for recognition is to provide a service and product far removed from archaeology's grander abilities. We see that any advancement is dependent on other industries. The outcomes and added value of urban projects are enormously dependent on government archaeology officers. While we know as matter of fact that state regulation is under threat as funding diminishes, this study reveals how archaeologists feel worried that the impact may mean their work will become increasingly routine and task-based rather than innovative.

While it may seem that archaeology is securely embedded in the planning process, results here demonstrate that archaeologists continue to feel uncertain about their future. Being a part of the planning process has encouraged urban archaeology to develop quickly in terms of managing resources and compliance, increasing employment, improving health and safety, and become competitively driven. It has also pushed archaeologists to adhere to standards – not for the sake of archaeology and historic preservation – but for the sake of market and competitive standards. Standards, by and large, are established by regulators and developers; there is little space for archaeologists to develop these standards further due to strict commercial restraints.

Archaeologists in both cities feel current structures do not encourage innovative work; they feel increasingly driven by constraints, which inevitably impacts on careers, motivations, creativity and levels of communication and collaboration.

Consideration of urban conservation has increased, and in that archaeology too has grown as a

profession. However, the development-led process in which it functions has detached archaeologists from their ability to focus beyond site specific projects. So while it is true that we have a wealth of information and reports, more sites recorded and more being looked at, much of this lacks a holistic or interpretative understanding. Again, this goes back to *output* versus *outcome*.

A lot of these challenges are a result of archaeology growing as a reactive profession, rather than proactively developing and negotiating its role internally to manage itself alongside the demands and pressures of urban culture (Figure 134). With that, archaeology has fragmented, which means the *process* (Figure 6) in which it functions has also fragmented. Different ‘sectors’ of archaeologists are responsible – or seen as responsible – for different tasks: many of these, case-specific.

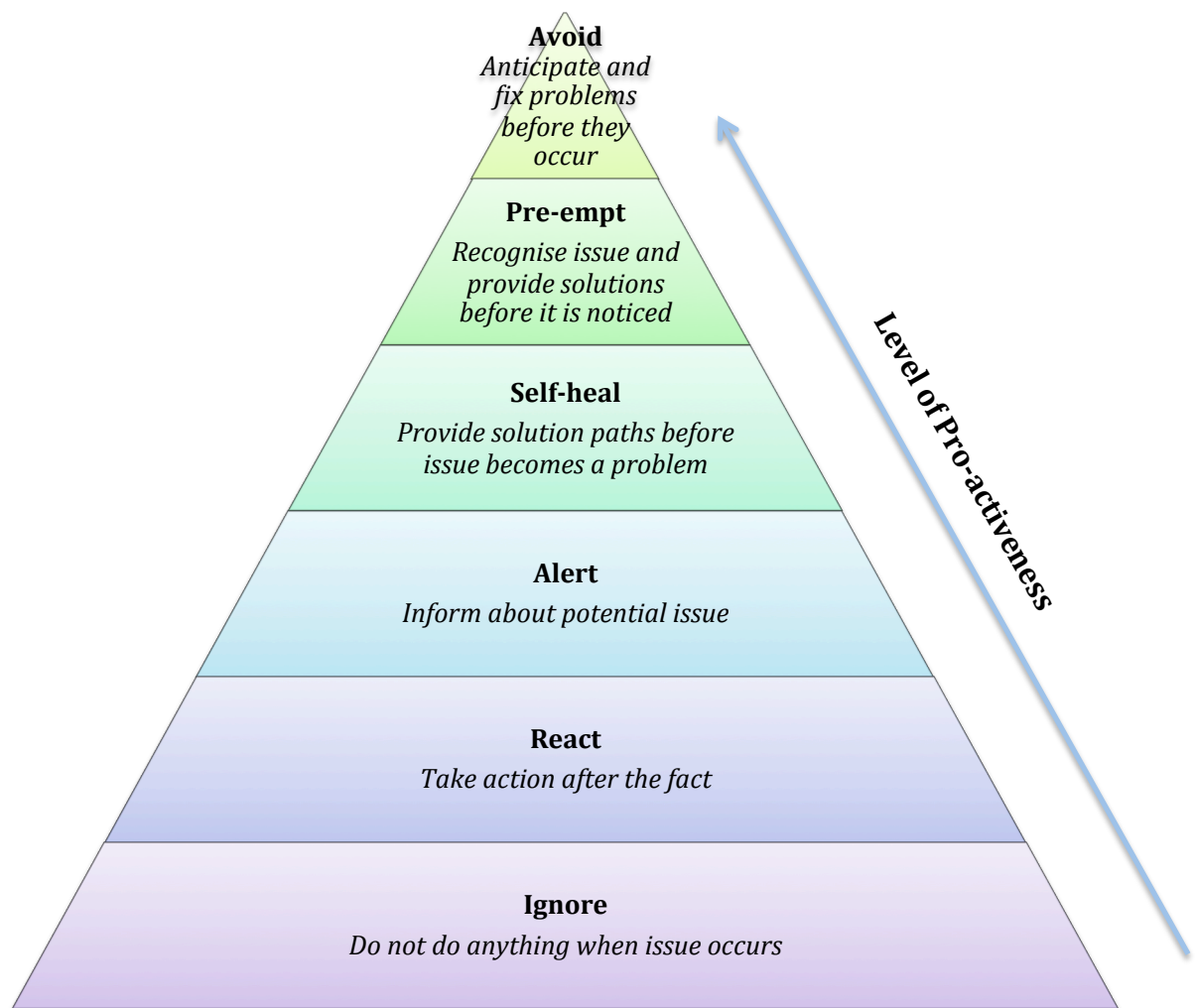


Figure 134 Six levels of proactive techniques

Working in an urban context is restrictive on archaeology; but more importantly it is restrictive on the individual. Our goal has to focus on how we can take the profession forward under these constraints, in a creative and intellectual manner.

The implications of this research for urban archaeology are how – in understanding the individual's response to the competitive environment within a neoliberal model – we create excellence and opportunity integrated within that context. Witnessing government archaeology officers who set the bar for quality of work, scale of work and standards, be increasingly overstretched, massively underfunded and under-supported, we as individuals need to be aware of the existing infrastructure, the political context and support, and begin to develop our own informal channels and networks into a positive, encouraging and integrative urban archaeological culture (Figure 135). We need to create our own space in which we can drive archaeology forward beyond the margins provided by the neoliberal urban context. We need to learn from each other (see PIA forum, 2013).

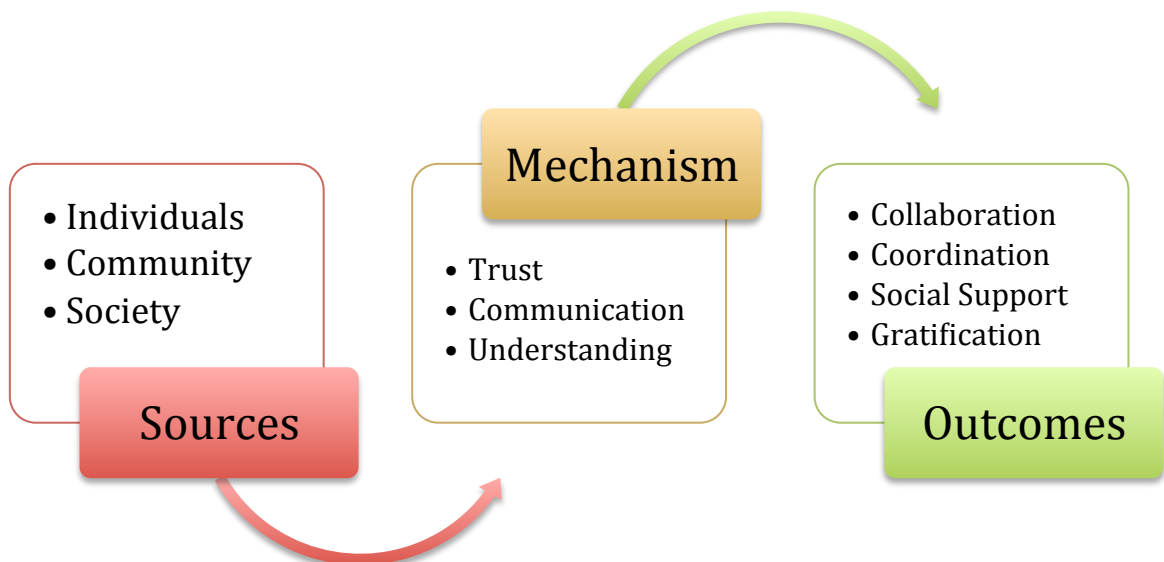


Figure 135 Creating an integrated profession

This research has highlighted the importance of integration, as a community *and* in terms of the archaeological practices and tasks. It stresses building strong relationships within the archaeology community as a prerequisite to achieving stronger relationships with the wider community. Creating an innovative space through networking, providing support, and sharing knowledge and skills is critical so that archaeologists can see the value and significance of what they do. We need to build on what we already know, and build on existing knowledge and expertise through collaborative strategies. This means we also need to provide the incentive: this research proposes that incentive is through building a sense of belonging and contributing to a wider community and

having a direct connection to our practice and our community as archaeologists, which will then allow a stronger connection to our wider societal community.

8.6 A Concluding Thought

The findings of this thesis benefit those seeking to explore what the unavoidable issues of working within an urban environment are, and how to overcome or mitigate these issues through establishing particular institutions, partnerships, channels and practices. It also allows us to understand the changes that occurred during the shift from a state-led profession in the UK and an academic-led profession in the US, to what is now predominantly privatised and development-led. The thesis also contributes to the study of urban archaeology through raising issues, concerns and challenges that have specifically been drawn out from archaeologists working in all sectors of urban archaeology. As such, it demonstrates the importance of participation, perception, inclusion and position of the individual within their wider context. Too often, as this paper has demonstrated, archaeologists work within isolated clusters or nepotistic cliques which act as discouraging forces rather than supportive and motivational. There are, however, very significant and positive efforts that drive to better archaeology. These exceptions are to be fostered and followed, to create a stronger archaeological community. These exceptions, more importantly, also demonstrate that increased social capital is not an idealistic utopia, but rather a real tool that can be used as a viable solution.

The arrangement of structure for development-led archaeology seen in both the UK and US inevitably will spread to other cities around the world. Whether state or privately funded, the budget rarely ever seems to be enough. However, what we learn from this research is that an innovative, supportive and progressive environment can be established through the simple and practical formalisation of networks, relationships, partnerships and collaborative efforts. While time-consuming and often seemingly futile, communication and social capital are critical and should be integrated into any future management of archaeology.

The economic and politics will always put pressure on the protection and preservation of the historic environment, and all who work towards this goal. Our weakness is our fragmentation: a weakness that can be overcome.

GLOSSARY

AGGLOMERATION ECONOMIES

A FORCE THAT HELPS EXPLAIN ADVANTAGES AND BENEFITS OF THE 'CLUSTERING EFFECT', I.E. ACTIVITIES, INDUSTRIES OR FACILITIES BETWEEN IN CLOSE PROXIMITY. THREE MAIN CATEGORIES INCLUDE URBANISATION ECONOMIES, INDUSTRIALISATION ECONOMIES AND LOCALISATION ECONOMIES.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMUNITY

STAKEHOLDERS AND INTERESTED PARTIES WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH PROTECTING THE CITY'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE; ARCHAEOLOGISTS INCLUDE UNIVERSITY, CONTRACT/PRO-PROFIT, AVOCATIONALS, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, MUSEUM CURATORS, SPECIALISTS, FREELANCERS.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CYCLE

REFERS TO A CYCLE PRESENTED IN FIGURE 6 AND FIGURE 121: ARCHAEOLOGY GOES THROUGH A CYCLE FROM AWARENESS, FIELDWORLD, STORAGE, COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, CURATOR AND DISSEMINATION, FURTHER RESEARCH, AND GROWING VALUE AND SUPPORT.

BETWEENNESS

AN INDICATOR OF A NODE'S POSITION IN A NETWORK, OFTEN REFERRING TO THEIR CENTRALITY I.E. BEING SITUATED BETWEEN TO OTHER NODES WITH THE POTENTIAL OF CREATING A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO.

BONDING

BONDING IS A KIND OF NETWORKING. IN SOCIAL CAPITAL IT IS WHEN TWO OR MORE NODES FORM A LINKAGE. BONDING IS IMPORTANT TO CULTIVATE TRUST, COOPERATION AND COLLECTIVE STRENGTH AMONG INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS WITH SHARED HISTORY, EXPERIENCE OR A COMMON PURPOSE. IT YIELDS AFFINITY, BELONGING, TRUST, SUPPORT AND COMMUNITY. IT IS DIFFERENT FROM BRIDGING IN THAT IT.

BRIDGING

BRIDGING REFERS TO SOCIAL NETWORKS BETWEEN SOCIALLY HETEROGENEOUS GROUPS – IT ALLOWS THE SHARING AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, IDEAS AND INNOVATION AND BUILDS CONSENSUS AMONG GROUPS REPRESENTING DIVERSE INTERESTS. BRIDGING YIELDS ACCESS, RESOURCES, INNOVATION, IMPACT AND PROFIT; IT CAN HELP CREATE AN INCLUSIVE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE.

CIRCLE OF CONCERN

THE WIDE RANGE OF CONCERNS WE HAVE .

CIRCLE OF INFLUENCE

THE CONCERNS THAT WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT AND THAT WE HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER.

CLIQUE

A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO INTERACT WITH EACH OTHER MORE REGULARLY AND INTENSELY THAN OTHERS IN THE SAME SETTING.

CLUSTER

A COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH DENSE FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS INTERNALLY AND SPARSE FRIENDSHIPS EXTERNALLY.

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

AN INDIVIDUAL'S BELIEF THAT A TEAM CAN PERFORM SUCCESSFULLY

COOPETITION

A CONCEPT THAT EMPHASISES SIMULTANEOUSLY COOPERATIVE AND COMPETITIVE BEHAVIOUR AMONG ORGANISATIONAL UNITS.

CREATIVE MILIEU

CREATIVE MILIEU'S HAVE KEY FEATURES: THEY ARE SPACES OF INFORMATION EXCHANGE; KNOWLEDGE; COMPETENCE IN ACTIVITIES; AND CREATIVITY, WHICH ALL WORK TOGETHER TO CREATE NEW IDEAS, PROCESSES AND PRODUCTS. CREATIVE MILIEU'S ARE COMPRISED OF CLUSTERS OF INDUSTRIES, NETWORKS OF ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS, SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND CULTURAL LIFE WITHIN A GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE I.E. CITIES.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

A VOCATION AND PRACTICE OF MANAGING CULTURAL RESOURCES. IT IS SYNONYMOUS WITH HERITAGE MANAGEMENT.

CURATOR (UK)

LOCAL PLANNING AUTHORITY ARCHAEOLOGY OFFICERS, DEVELOPMENT CONTROL ARCHAEOLOGISTS OR COUNTY/CITY ARCHAEOLOGISTS WHO OVERSEE ARCHAEOLOGY UNDER PLANNING REGULATION

CURATOR (US)

MUSEUM CURATOR

DEGREE CENTRALITY

THE NUMBER OF TIES A NODE HAS, WHICH MAY INDICATE ITS LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE.

FORMAL GROUPS

A GROUP OF TWO OR MORE INDIVIDUALS ESTABLISHED BY AN ORGANISATION TO PERFORM ORGANISATIONAL WORK.

GLOBAL CITY

A CITY CONSIDERED TO BE AN IMPORTANT NODE IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM, WHETHER ECONOMICALLY OR POLITICALLY.

GOVERNANCE

ALL PROCESSES OF GOVERNING WHICH INVOLVES INTERACTION AND DECISION-MAKING AMONG ACTORS INVOLVED IN A COLLECTIVE GROUP.

GROUP POTENCY

THE COLLECTIVE BELIEF OR GROUP MEMBERS THAT THE GROUP CAN BE EFFECTIVE.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION

THE PRACTICE OF PROTECTING AND PRESERVING SITES, STRUCTURES OR AREAS OF LOCAL OR NATIONAL CULTURAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL OR ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

HORIZON OF OBSERVATION

A DISTANCE IN A COMMUNICATION NETWORK BEYOND WHICH PERSONS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE AWARE OF THE ROLE PERFORMANCE OF OTHER PERSONS.

HUBS

NODES WITH THE HIGHEST-DEGREE OF LINKAGES WITH OTHER NODES.

INDUSTRIALISATION

A PERIOD OF CHANGE THAT TRANSFORMS A SOCIETY INTO AN INDUSTRIAL PERIOD. WIDER IMPLICATIONS INCLUDE MODERNISATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION.

INFLUENCERS

ACTORS WHO DRIVE BOTH ACTION AND AWARENESS WITHIN AND EXTERNAL TO A NETWORK.

INFORMAL GROUPS

NATURAL GROUPINGS THAT FORM TO FULFILL SOCIAL NEEDS, EVOLVING NATURALLY.

INFORMATION FLOW

THE WAY INFORMATION MOVES THROUGHOUT A SYSTEM.

LESSON-DRAWING

TO ENGAGE IN POLICY TRANSFER USING CROSS-NATIONAL EXPERIENCE AS A SOURCE OF POLICY ADVICE.

LINKAGES/LINKS

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TWO OR MORE NODES.

LOCAL AUTHORITY

AN ADMINISTRATIVE BODY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT THAT OVERSEES LOCAL MATTERS BASED ON THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES

MINDSET

AN ESTABLISHED SET OF ATTITUDES HELD BY SOMEONE OR BY A LARGER GROUP.

MOM AND POPS

A COLLOQUIAL TERM FOR SMALL, INDEPENDENT, FAMILY-OWNED BUSINESSES USUALLY FOCUSING WITHIN A SINGLE GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION.

NEOLIBERALISM

IDEOLOGY OR POLICIES WHICH SUPPORT LAISSEZ-FAIRE ECONOMIC LIBERALISM, WEAKENING OF GOVERNMENT AND THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY.

NORM

GENERALLY AGREED INFORMAL AND UNWRITTEN RULES THAT GUIDE GROUPS MEMBERS' BEHAVIOUR.

PARADIGM

LOOSE COLLECTION OF LOGICALLY RELATED ASSUMPTIONS, CONCEPTS, OR PROPOSITIONS THAT ORIENT THINKING AND RESEARCH.

POLICY-TRANSFERS

THE ADOPTION OF PROCEDURES OR PROCESSES FIRST INTRODUCED IN ANOTHER CONTEXT.

RELATIONAL TIES

LINKAGES BETWEEN ACTORS, OR CHANNELS, FOR THE TRANSFER OR 'FLOW' OF RESOURCES (EITHER MATERIAL OR NONMATERIAL).

SOCIAL CAPITAL

THE COLLECTIVE BENEFITS AND ADVANTAGES OF A COMMUNITY FROM COOPERATIVE AND COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS. IT VALUES SOCIAL NETWORKS TO INCREASE THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY.

SOCIAL COGNITIVE MAPPING

A TECHNIQUE THAT IDENTIFIES SOCIAL TIES THROUGH REFERRAL AND ALLOWS THE SAMPLE TO EXPAND FURTHER USING SAMPLES THAT WOULD OTHERWISE GO UNNOTICED VIA FORMAL STRUCTURES. IT PROVIDES A MORE RELEVANT SOCIAL MAP AND OUTLINES LEVELS OF INTEGRATION AND CLOSENESS OF THE OVERALL STRUCTURE.

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

THE STUDY AND FOCUS ON RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIAL ENTITIES, AND ON THE PATTERNS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THESE RELATIONSHIPS.

STRUCTURALLY EQUIVALENCE

WHEN TWO NODES ARE IN THE SAME SOCIAL POSITION OR SOCIAL ROLE (I.E. HAVE THE SAME SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT).

TIES

ACTORS (NODES) ARE LINKED TOGETHER BY TIES; THEY CAN BE STRONG, DIRECTIONAL, WEIGHTED: THERE ARE DIFFERENT KINDS OF TIES (OR RELATIONS).

TREND

CHANGING NARRATIVES DUE TO THE AGGREGATE EFFECT OF UNCOORDINATED INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP ACTIONS. THEY RELATE TO THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES AND PRACTICES WITHIN A SOCIETY.

TRIANGULATION

THE USE OF TWO OR MORE METHODS TO VERIFY VALIDITY OF RESULTS.

URBAN

FOR PURPOSES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARABILITY, GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES, OR SIZE OF LOCALITY, CONTINUE TO BE THE MOST APPROPRIATE UNIT, AND THAT FAILING, THE SMALLEST ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY. INDEED, PART OF THE NEED TO GEOGRAPHICALLY DEFINE LOCALITIES¹⁹⁵ IS TO RECOGNISE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AREAS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF PARTICULAR ADMINISTRATIVE, LEGAL OR HISTORICAL STATUS BASED ON LOCAL LAW; SPACES WITH A CONCENTRATION OF POWER.

URBAN CONSERVATION

AN URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY THAT IS PROTECTED, PRESERVED AND MANAGED WITH CONSIDERATION OF IMPACTS TO THE URBAN FABRIC.

URBAN CULTURE

SYNONYMOUS WITH URBANISM. THE CULTURE OF TOWNS AND CITIES; SEEN AS A STATE OF MIND, A BODY OF CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS, ATTITUDES AND SENTIMENTS, SPECIFICALLY LINKED TO CITY DWELLING. SOME SCHOLARS SUGGEST THERE IS AN ABSENCE OF COMMUNITY AND CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, EMOTIONAL WITHDRAWAL, SUPERFICIAL AND IMPERSONAL INTERACTIONS, AND A MORE INDIVIDUALISTIC MINDSET. ALSO CONSIDERED AS A TERMINUS FOR CULTURAL ROLES EMANATING FROM THE WIDER CULTURE OR EVEN THE WORLD SYSTEM.

URBAN FABRIC

THE PHYSICAL AND SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHOLE URBAN STRUCTURE

URBAN FORM

A FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING CITIES TO INCLUDE THE *URBAN FABRIC*, AND THE AGENTS, AGENCIES AND PROCESSES SHAPING IT. URBAN FORM THAT TRANSCENDS CURRENT NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. THE WEAKENING OF *PLACE-BASED* WEBS OF RELATIONS MOVE IT BEYOND THE SPATIAL NATURE OF RELATIONS, LOCATION AND SPATIAL COEXISTENCE TO INCLUDE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND WEBS OF RELATIONSHIPS WHICH EXTEND BEYOND PLACE .

VALUES

CULTURALLY DEFINED STANDARDS BY WHICH PEOPLE JUDGE DESIRABILITY, GOODNESS, AND LEVEL OF PRIORITY. THEY SERVE AS BROAD GUIDELINES FOR SOCIAL LIVING AS WELL AS PUBLIC POLICIES; CORE VALUES ARE KEY VALUES GIVEN HIGH PRIORITY IN A SOCIETY.

ZONING CODE

RULES AND REGULATIONS MAKE UP A CODE.

¹⁹⁵ A distinct population cluster in which the inhabitants live in neighbouring sets of living quarters and that has a name or a locally recognised status.

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UCL: *Partnerships*

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UK Census

<http://data.london.gov.uk/census>

UNESCO: *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*

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USDA Forest Service: *Laws, Regulations and Executive Orders authorizing historic preservation*

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US Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis

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APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM AND INFORMATION SHEET

Information Sheet Regarding Research Conducted by Hana Koriech¹⁹⁶

**Understanding the [City Case Study] Archaeological Structure
through Individual and Organisational Relationships**

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number 3835/001) and is compliant with the Data Protection Act 1998 whereby all data will be collected and stored appropriately (Registration Number Z636 4106/2012/03/48)

Name	Hana Koriech
Work Address	Institute of Archaeology Room 116 University College London 31-34 Gower Square London WC1H 0PY
Contact Details	Email: hana.koriech.10@ucl.ac.uk Mobile: 07532 161 323

We would like to invite you to participate in this research project.

Details of Study

This work is towards Hana Koriech's PhD research at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. The aim is to provide a map of the current archaeological structure of organisation involved in [City case study] archaeology, and to understand relationships and networks between practitioners. It will be a useful tool for improving communication and information flow within the regional network, as well as understanding the direction of the archaeological profession.

I kindly invite you to consider participating in this research. Should you accept, you will be asked a range of questions in a semi-structured interview covering your experience in the field, your views on communication, opportunities and challenges faced by archaeologists, and other questions surrounding the current archaeological climate.

The interview length can be adjusted to your availability, however 1 hour is preferred. The researcher will be taking note of your responses, but will also request your permission to record the interview only for the purposes of maintaining accuracy for transcription, which will be sent to you for approval before any use. The recording will be stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998, and erased once this sole purpose has been fulfilled. If you prefer not to be recorded, your request will be granted.

¹⁹⁶ In 2014, surname changed from Koriech to Morel

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Your participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw your contribution at any time before or after receiving official debriefing and result analysis. All data will be held and analysed solely by the researcher, Hana Koriech, for this research project alone. You may refuse to answer any question you like, or select particular information as 'off the record', which may be used without any identifiable information. The consent form will have a question that gives you the option to remain completely anonymous and not associated with any of the information given.

Please read the consent form clearly and ask if you have any questions or concerns that you feel are unclear about the research.

Thank you for taking the time to be involved in this research. Your contribution is greatly appreciated and we are happy to answer any questions regarding the research of your personal data provided at any time of the study.

The information that you have provided will be analysed alongside other data gathered during this period. Prior to any publication or dissemination, you will be notified of identifiable information used that you have provided, to verify that you are content with how the information has been applied. If you would like to be updated about the results or are happy to be contacted again should it be needed, please indicate so on the consent form.

Please discuss the information above with others if you wish or ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Choosing to decline participation is not a problem at all and we thank you for your time nonetheless.

Please keep in mind, if you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Please read the consent form carefully as the researcher will bring in a copy to be signed before commencing the interview.

Thank you so much for your time and I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Hana Koriech
PhD Candidate
Institute of Archaeology Room 116
E: hana.koriech.10@ucl.ac.uk
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Supervisor
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Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 31-34 Gordon Square,
London - WC1H 0PY

Informed Consent Form for Research Conducted by Hana Koriech

Understanding Networks through Individual and Organisational Relationships in [City Case Study] Archaeology

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number 3835/001) and is compliant with the Data Protection Act 1998 whereby all data will be collected and stored appropriately (Registration Number Z636 4106/2012/03/48)

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to sign this consent form, please make sure that you have understood the project.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher, Hana Koriech, before you decide whether to participate. Contact details are provided on the Information Sheet.

Participant's Statement

I, _____

- Have read the Information Sheet provided as well as the notes written above, and understand what the study involves.
- Understand that if I decide that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- Consent to the processing of my personal information and the information I have provided for the purposes of this research study.
- Understand that all information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- Agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.
- Understand that I am entitled to be updated on the results and would like/would not like to (please delete as appropriate) receive updates once the data have been analysed.
- Agree / Do not agree that the researcher can use and quote information that I have provided and associate it to my person (please delete as appropriate)

Print Name: _____

Sign and Date: _____

APPENDIX 2 SURVEY AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Survey Questions

Below are questions for the NYC case study, however the same template was applied for London. See Appendix 4 Survey Results for a full outline of all questions.

SURVEY QUESTIONS: FOR NYC

Please Note that there are available text boxes beneath each question should you like to add additional comments or feel that something has been overlooked.

1. Have you worked or volunteered in (US-Work Only): *as options, number of years offered: no experience; 1-5 years; 6-10 years; 20 + years*
 - Archaeological/Historical Societies
 - Federal/State Government
 - Academia
 - Private Archaeology Companies
 - Consultancy
 - Museums
 - Freelance
 - Employed Abroad
 -
- It would be very helpful to know what position in what organisation you work or volunteer for.
- How often do you attend events and rate how beneficial you think they are: *as options, frequency: not relevant to me; none; daily or more; weekly or more; monthly; yearly or more/ rate usefulness: always very useful; useful on occasion; rarely useful; not useful*
 - Organisation meetings where you work
 - Team section/Unit meetings
 - National meetings (i.e. AIA SHA)
 - State meetings (i.e. NYAC, NYSAA)
 - PANYC
 - Evening lectures
 - Conferences
 - Social Events (i.e. drinks, launches, openings)
- Please select from the choices below. The archaeological community (this includes national/local government, historical societies, consultants, academics, commercial units and museums) in NYC [...1-4 options...] and the level of communication is [...5-9 options]
 - Works together well as a whole and has a good level of collaboration and cooperation
 - Works together, collaborates and cooperates only when necessary
 - Does not have the work relationships or structures in place for collaborative or cooperative work to the best potential
 - Is fragmented with isolated organisations unaware of what others are doing,

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- and failing to collaborate or cooperate
 - Very good between all the groups (i.e. societies, commercial, academic and local government)
 - Very good between sections of groups
 - Good but needs to be improved
 - Average
 - Very poor and lacking
- Do you feel your work environment provides a supportive community? (i.e. through offering, highlighting, suggesting, or referring you to opportunities regarding professional development, information exchange, workshop/conferences, funding, membership to relevant bodies or trade unions, networking, etc)?: *as options, always; frequently; sometimes; never; no opinion*
- Do you feel encouraged by your professional environment to improve or pursue your personal interests in archaeology/heritage? (for example, are there opportunities for you to create, suggest and develop projects or ideas which need the help and resources of the organisation/unit you are affiliated with): *as options, always, frequently, on occasion, never*
- In your opinion, aside from bidding for jobs, is archaeology/heritage more competitive or collaborative?: *as options, competitive; collaborative; no opinion*
- Are you aware of what projects/research other colleagues are involved in within your organisation?: *as options, yes; most of them; in general; a few of them; no*
- As you aware of what projects/research other colleagues are involved in outside of your organisation?: *as options, yes; most of them; in general; a few of them; no*
- Do you make an effort to maintain professional relationships with a wide variety of individuals?: *as options, always; often; sometimes; never*
- Using the scale rank what you feel is most important as a social attribute in the archaeological profession: *as options, 5=most important; 1= not important*
 1. Recognised expertise
 2. Referent power (i.e. charisma, loyalty, respect, admiration)
 3. Position of legitimacy
 4. Authority
 5. Control over information and resources
- By full name, please identify individuals in the archaeology or heritage sector you consider important in your work network within or external to your organisation. Examples include colleagues that provide you with information to do your work, help you think about complex problems posed by your work, or provide advice or personal support helpful in your day-to-day working life.
 - Frequency of communication
 - Connection
 - Value of information provided
 - Tick options for individual's attributes: helps for getting my job done (exchange, problem solving, input, feedback, discussion); provides informed sound advice; greater access or control over resources/info; provides personal support; strong impact/influence on me and others
- In your opinion, what role/purpose do you think archaeology should play in modern society?

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- Do you think archaeology under CRM has increased or decreased standards?: *as options, increased; remained the same; decreased; no opinion*
 - Do you think the values of archaeology are under threat?: *as options, yes; no; no opinion*
 - our values, views and opinion of threat may be different. What are yours?
 - Please complete your views regarding your membership, the remit (the task or area of activity officially assigned to an organisation), importance (their importance or value in NYC archaeology), and their overall impact (their impact on NYC archaeological practice regardless of their remit) of each organisation.
 - AIA
 - SHA
 - NYAC
 - NYSAA
 - PANYC
 - CNEHA
 - RPA
 - SAA
 - NPS
 - SHPO
 - NYSM
 - LPC
 - ACHP
 - Brooklyn College Archaeology Research Center
17. Row by row, name up to four individuals or units you feel are or have recently been (from the 1960s onwards) critical or highly influential for NYC archaeology. This is your personal opinion and may be concentrated towards your particular interests and could include individuals within the US who have impacted NYC archaeology).
- Leading figures in the development of the professional
 - An important part of change
 - Critical/key figures
 - Irreplaceable
 - Public figures
 - Knows practically everything going on in NYC archaeology
 - Influential to NY State archaeology as a whole

Remaining questions collect demographic information such as gender, age, qualifications and political spectrum.

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Semi-Structure Interview Questions

1. About your background in archaeology.
2. What was the atmosphere like?
3. Have you seen things change? If so, how?
4. Do you think archaeology is competitive or collaborative?
5. Do you think there is a sense of community in archaeology
6. How do you think the sectors work together? Or do they?
7. Are your connections formal or informal?
8. Do you see archaeology as fragmented?
9. What do you think about the level of communication?
10. How do you keep yourself informed about what is going on?
11. What are the main challenges, and in your ideal world how would you reconcile them?

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APPENDIX 3 LIST OF UK/US INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

London Interview Participants

<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Sector</u>	<u>Current Organisation</u>	<u>Interview Date</u>	<u>Interview Duration</u>	<u>Place</u>
Aitchison, Kenneth	M	Commercial	Landward Research Ltd	20/06/12	1h 56 min	Café
Bailie, Rose	F	Local Society	COLAS	28/02/13	NA	Room
Bateman, Nick	M	Commercial	MOLA	04/07/12	1h 08 min	Office
Biddle, Martin	M	Academia	Oxford/ Winchester	13/06/12	1h 40 min	Office
Cakebread, Stuart	M	State	HER/EH	20/02/12	1h 37 min	Office
Carver, Jay	M	Commercial	Crossrail	08/03/13	1 h	Office
Carver, Martin	M	Other		14/02/13	1 h 11 min	Cafe
Chitty, Gill	F	Academic	York Uni	04/09/14	59 min	Skype
Cohen, Nathalie	F	Local Society	TDP	24/09/12	1h 04 min	Office
Constable, Chris	M	State	Southwark Curator	22/06/12	1h 17 min	Café
Cooper, Don	M	Local Society	CBA LDN/HADAS	08/06/12	1h 50 min	Café
Corbishley, Mike	M	Academia	IoA	03/10/12	1h 50 min	Office
Cotton, Jon	M	Other	MoL Curator	18/07/12	1h 28 min	Café
Cunliffe, Barry	M	Academic	Oxford Uni	13/02/13	41 min	Office
Dawson, Michael	M	Commercial	CgMs	20/08/12	1h 27 min	Café
Dhanjal, Sarah	F	State	CBA LDN	2805/12	52 min	Park
Edis, Jonathan	M	Commercial	Heritage Collective	07/08/12	1h 38 min	Café
Flatman, Joseph	M	Academia	IoA (at time of interview)	12/09/12	1h 32 min	Office
Flude, Kevin	M	State	Old Operating	04/07/12	56 min	Café

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Theatre Museum						
Francis, Antony	M	Trade Union/ Commercial	MOLA	15/02/13	1 h 14 min	Office
Grew, Francis	M	State	LAARC	03/07/12	1h 22	Office
Hall, Jenny	F	Misc	Retired	20/07/12	1h 40 min	Café
Harris, Edward	M	State	Bermuda Museum	02/12/13	1h 43 min	Cafe
Hassett, Brenna	F	Academia	NHM/ IoA	23/08/12	1h 48 min	Home
Heyworth, Mike	M	State	CBA	28/06/12	1h 45 min	Café
Hinton, Peter	M	State	IfA	29/06/12	1h 38 min	Café
Howe, Tony	M	State	Surrey/ Rescue	21/08/12	1h 10 min	Office
Jennings, David	M	Commercial	Oxford University	05/03/13	1 h 18 min	Office
Keily, Jackie	M	State	Museum London	19/03/13	1 h 45 min	Office
Keys, Lynne	F	Commercial	Specialist	14/03/13	3 h 30 min	Cafe
Lewis, John	M	Local Society	Soc.Ant.	26/05/12	1h 55 min	Office
Maloney, Catherine	F	State	LAARC	19/02/13	1 h 12 min	Office
Melikian, Melissa	F	Commercial	AOC Archaeology	14/08/12	1h 20 min	Office
Milne, Gustav	M	Local Society	TDP, WORD, IoA	07/06/12	2h 27 min	Office
Moshenska, Gabriel	M	Academia	IoA	17/05/12	1h 13 min	Office
Nixon, Taryn	F	Commercial	MOLA	12/04/13	1h 19min	Office
Olivier, Adrian	M	State	EH	12/03/13	1 h 36 min	Cafe
Orton, Clive	M	Misc	Retired	28/05/12	1h 18 min	Office
Perring, Dominic	M	Misc	IoA/ASE	07/02/13	2 h 05 min	Office
Pontin, Lawrence	M	Misc	Retired	17/07/12	2h 15 min	Outdoor s
Rauxloh, Peter	M	Commercial	MOLA	12/03/13	1 h 11 min	Office

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Richardson, Lorna	F	Academia	IoA		10/10/12	39 min	Office
Schaaf, Laura	F	Local Society	LAMAS		16/07/12	2h 13 min	Café
Schadla-Hall, Tim	M	Academia	IoA		22/02/13	54 min	Office
Schofield, John	M	Local Society	Retired/ Colat		04/07/12	1h 25 min	Café
Sheldon, Harvey	M	Local Society	Syon Rescue	Site/	05/07/12	1h 15 min	Café
Sidell, Jane	F	State	EH		01/05/12	1h 38 min	Park
Single, Adam	M	State	EH Curator		17/07/12	58 min	Office
Sloane, Barney	M	State	EH		05/03/12	1 h 01 min	Office
Stephenson, Roy	M	State	MoL		21/06/12	42 min	Office
Tecirli, Beliz	F	Commercial	MOLA		14/05/12	1h 10 min	Café
Thomas, Roger	M	State	EH		11/11/12	1h 07 min	Office
Wainwright, Geoffrey	M	Misc	Retired		23/07/12	55 min	Phone
Whytehead, Robert	M	Misc	Retired		21/06/12	1h 40 min	Home
Williams, Tim	M	Academia	IoA		10/10/14	1h 33min	Office

APPENDICES

Sectors London Participants Identify Themselves With

This section is not used in the thesis, however is additional insight for those researching contemporary archaeology. I asked participants to categorise themselves, using percentages, into what sectors they *personally identify with*, rather than the sector in which they work based on their organization. In some cases percentage does not total 100% as participants used ‘other’ section. A similar table is available for NYC.

Code for sector categorization is:

1 = Academia

2= Commercial/Private

3= Local Society

4 = State/Government

Name	City	How I Categorise them	Highest Sector Selected of Self- Categorisation	% Academia	% Commercial / Private	% Local Societies/ Society Bodies	%State/ Governme nt/ Federal
Aitchison, Kenneth	1	2	2	7	90	3	0
Bailie, Rose	1	3	3	10	10	70	5
Bateman, Nick	1	2	2	40	60	0	0
Biddle, Martin	1	1	1	60	15	5	20
Cakebread, Stuart	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Carver, Jay	1	2	2	5	75	5	15
Carver, Martin	1	1	1, 2, 4	25	25	5	25
Chitty, Gill	1	4	4	25	5	20	30
Cohen, Nathalie	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Constable, Chris	1	4	2	5	60	25	10
Cooper, Don	1	3	0	8	2	85	5
Corbishley, Mike	1	1	1	50	5	20	5
Cotton, Jon	1	4	2	10	50	30	5
Cunliffe, Barry	1	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Dawson, Michael	1	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Dhanjal, Sarah	1	3	1	45	5	20	30
Edis, Jonathan	1	2	2	20	50	5	25
Flatman, Joseph	1	4	4	5	5	10	80
Flude, Kevin	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Francis, Antony	1	2	2	10	75	5	10
Grew, Francis	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Hall, Jenny	1	4	3	10	10	50	30
Harris, Edward	1	4	1	90	5	0	5
Hassett, Brenna	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Heyworth, Mike	1	3	3	10	5	80	5
Hinton, Peter	1	3	3	5	15	80	0
Howe, Tony	1	4	2	10	70	5	15
Jennings, David	1	2	5	10	25	10	0
Keily, Jackie	1	4	3	10	0	80	10
Keys, Lynne	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Lewis, John	1	3	2	1	90	9	0

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Maloney, Catherine	1	4	3	5	40	45	10
Melikian, Melissa	1	2	2	10	80	5	5
Milne, Gustav	1	1	1,4	30	25	30	15
Moshenska, Gabriel	1	1	1	85	0	15	0
Nixon, Taryn	1	2	1,2,5	30	30	10	0
Olivier, Adrian	1	4	3	5	30	40	25
Orton, Clive	1	1	3	45	5	50	0
Perring, Dominic	1	2	2	30	60	10	NR
Pontin, Lawrence	1	4	2	10	30	10	50
Rauxloh, Peter	1	2	2	20	70	2	8
Richardson, Lorna	1	1	2	30	60	10	0
Schaaf, Laura	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Schadla-Hall, Tim	1	1	3	25	10	40	5
Schofield, John	1	5	2	0	40	10	0
Sheldon, Harvey	1	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Sidell, Jane	1	4	NR	21	1	5	69
Single, Adam	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Sloane, Barney	1	4	4	10	10	10	70
Stephenson, Roy	1	4		5	10	5	5
Tecirli, Beliz	1	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Thomas, Roger	1	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Wainwright, Geoffrey	1	4	1,2,3,4	25	25	25	25
Williams, Tim	1	1	3	10	10	75	5
Whytehead, Robert	1	4	4	5	20	20	55

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New York City Interview Participants

<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Sector</u>	<u>Current Organisation</u>	<u>Interview Date</u>	<u>Interview Duration</u>	<u>Place</u>
Adovasio, James	M	Academia	Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute	21/08/13	1h 17 min	Phone
Asodorian, William	M	Enthusiast	Independent Enthusiast	19/09/13	1h 02 min	Phone
Bankoff, Simeon	M	Local Society	Historic District Council	11/07/13	58 min	Office
Barwick, Kent	M	Local Society	Municipal Art Society	17/09/13	1h 28 min	Phone
Baugher, Sherene	F	Government	Cornell Uni	19/08/13	2h 32 min	Phone
Bergoffen, Celia	F	Private	C. Bergoffen	08/08/13	1h 18 min	Home
Bernard, Nancy	F	Local Society	Archaeological Associates of Greenwich	20/08/13	40 min	Phone
Boesch, Eugene	M	Private	E. Boesch	19/07/13	1 h 17 min	Park
Bridges, Sarah	F	Government	EPA	12/09/13	1h 40 min	Phone
Brighton, Nancy	F	Government	USACE	08/08/13	1h	Office
Britt, Kelly	F	Government	USACE	16/09/13	1h 26 min	Home
Burrow, Ian	M	Private	Hunter Research Inc.	23/07/13	1h 04 min	Office
Cantwell, Anne-Marie	F	Academia	Rutgers College	17/06/13	1 h 21 min	Café
Cox, Deborah	F	Private	PAL	09/08/13	48 min	Phone
Crabtree, Pam	F	Academia	NYU	10/09/13	1h 15	Office
Czerkowicz, Camille	F	Museum	MCNY	20/08/13	1h	Cafe
Dolkart, Andrew	M	Academia	Columbia Uni	11/09/13	26 min	

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Favaloro, David	M	Museum	Tenement Museum	16/09/13	34 min	Office
Fowles, Severin	M	Academia	Columbia Uni	09/09/13	1h 22 min	Office
Garrett, Zenobie	F	Academia	NYU	30/08/13	1h 07 min	Lab
Geismar, Joan	F	Private	Joan Geismar	07/08/13	55 min	Café
Gilbert, Allan	M	Academia	Fordham University	19/08/13	1h 17 min	Office
Heath, Seb	M	Academia	ISAW	11/09/13	1h 22 min	Office
Huey, Paul	M	Government	Retired	13/09/13	1h 40 min	Museum
Hunter, Richard	M	Private	Hunter Research	23/07/13	1h 04 min	Office
Jameson, John	M	Government	NPS	30/08/13	1h 37 min	Phone
Janowitz, Meta	F	Private	AECOM	06/08/13	1h 23 min	Office
Klein, Joel	M	Private	Louis Berger	14/08/13	3h 03 min	Café
Linn, Meredith	F	Academia	Columbia Uni	17/07/13	NA	Café
Loorya, Alyssa	F	Private	Chrysalis Archaeology	29/07/13	1h 41	Home
Mackey, Doug	M	Government (retired)	SHPO	16/09/13	1h 02	Phone
Maclean, Jessica	F	Academia	Columbia Uni	05/09/13	2h 17 min	Café
Matthews, Chris	M	Academia	Montclair Stte Uni	01/08/13	1h 07 min	Café
Mayro, Felicia	F	Local Society	Neighborhood Preservation Center	04/09/13	1h 24 min	Office
Moore, James	M	Academia	Queens College	27/08/13	2h 07 min	Office
Morin, Ed	M	Private	AECOM	06/08/13	1h 45 min	Office
Mrozowski, Stephen	M	Academia	Andrew Fiske Memorial Center, UMass	15/08/13	1h 14 min	Phone
Neville, Chris	M	Private	Freelance	17/09/13	1h 10 min	Café
Perazio, Philip	M	Government	SHPO	10/08/13	1h 30 min	Café

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Rakos, Lynn	F	Government	USACE	12/09/13	40 min	Café
Ricciardi, Chris	M	Government	USACE	29/07/13	1h 19 min	Home
Rieth, Christina	F	Government	State Archaeologist	13/09/13	1h 15 min	Office
Rosthchild, Nan	F	Academia	Columbia	24/07/13	42 min	Café
Sanger, Matthew	M	Academic	AMNH	13/08/13	56 min	Café
Saunders, Cece	F	Private	Historical Perspectives	15/08/13	59 min	Phone
Schuldenrein, Joe	M	Private	GSA	09/07/13	2h 20 min	Office
Solecki, Ralph	M	Academic	Retired	28/08/13	57 min	Phone
Stone, Gaynell	F	Local Society	Suffolk County Arch Ass.	06/09/13	2h 41 min	Phone
Stone, Linda	F	Private	Linda Stone	25/07/13	31 min	Café
Sutphin, Amanda	F	Government	LPC	05/07/13	1h 09 min	Office
Versaggi, Nina	F	Private	Binghamton Uni	19/09/13	52 min	Phone
Wall, Diana	F	Academic	Hunter Uni	15/07/13	1h 04 min	Café
Wasserman, Suzanne	F	Academic	NYU/ Gotham	18/07/13	46 min	Office
Weed, Carol	F	Private	Vanassee Hangen Brustlin, Inc	31/07/13	2h 3 min	Office
Wright, Rita	F	Academia	NYU	05/08/13	1h 18min	Office
Yamin, Rebecca	F	Private	Specialist	19/09/13	1h 03 min	Café
Yates, Brian	M	Government	SHPO	10/08/13	1h 23 min	Cafe
Zipris, EY	F	Museum	MCNY	16/07/13	NA	Office

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Sectors NYC Participants Identify Themselves With

Name	City	How I Categorise them	Highest Sector Selected of Self- Categoris- ation	% Academia	% CRM/ Private	% Local Societies/ Society Bodies	%State/ Federal	Museum
Adovasio, James	2	1	1, 2, 4	80	10	0	10	0
Asodorian, Bill	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	0
Bankoff, Simeon	2	3	3	0	0	100	0	0
Barnard, Nancy	2	3	3	0	0	100	0	0
Barwick, Kent	2	3	4	0	0	40	60	0
Baughner, Sherene	2	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Bergoffen, Celia	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	0
Boesch, Eugene J	2	2	2	10	80	10	0	0
Bridges, Sarah	2	3	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Brighton, Nancy	2	4	4	5	5	5	85	0
Britt, Kelly	2	4	4	20	0	5	75	0
Cantwell, Anne-Marie	2	1						
Cox, Deborah	2	2	2	15	85	0	0	0
Crabtree, Pam	2	1	1	80	10	10	0	0
Czerkowicz, Camille	2	5	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Dolkart, Andrew	2	1	0	85	15	0	0	0
Favaloro, David	2	5	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Fowles, Severin	2	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Garrett, Zenobie	2	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Geismar, Joan	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Gilbert, Allan	2	1	1	80	10	5	5	0
Heath, Sebastian	2	1	1	90	0	10	0	0
Huey, Paul	2	4	4	5	0	5	90	0
Hunter, Richard	2	2	2	10	60	20	10	0
Jameson, John	2	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Janowitz, Meta	2	2	2	20	70	10	0	0
Klein, Joel	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Loorya, Alyssa	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Lynn, Meredith	2	1	1, 2, 4	65	1	30	4	0
Mackey, Douglas	2	4	1,2,4	33	33	0	34	0

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Maclean, Jessica	2	1	1	65	5	10	0	0
Matthews, Christopher	2	1	1	85	0	15	0	0
Mayro, Felicia	2	3	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Moore, Jim	2	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Morin, Ed	2	2	2	3	80	10	2	0
Mrozowski, Stephen	2	1	1	80	5	10	5	0
Neville, Chris	2	2	1,3	30	20	30	0	0
Off record participant	2	4	1,2,4	25	25	12.5	25	12.5
Off record participant	2	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Perazio, Philip	2	4	2	4	75	1	20	0
Rakos, Lynn	2	4	3	0	10	10	80	0
Ricciardi, Chris	2	4	2	0	98	2	0	0
Rieth, Christina	2	4	4	5	0	5	90	0
Rothschild, Nan	2	1	1	80	5	6	10	5
Sanger, Matthew	2	1	1	70	5	0	0	25
Saunders, Cece	2	2	2	5	80	10	5	0
Schuldenrein, Joseph	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Solecki, Ralph	2	6	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Stone, Gaynell	2	3	3	10	0	90	0	0
Stone, Linda	2	2	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Sutphin, Amanda	2	4	4	0	0	0	100	0
Versaggi, Nina	2	1	2	20	75	0	0	0
Wall, Diana	2	1	1, 2, 4	90	5	0	0	5
Wasserman, Suzanne	2	1	1	80	5	10	5	0
Weed, Carol	2	2	2	10	75	10	5	0
Yamin, Rebecca	2	2	2	0	100	0	0	
Yates, Brian	2	4	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Zipris, E.Y.	2	5	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

Note that these preliminary results highlight that categorisation of individuals into sectors should take personal sense of belonging into account. They also demonstrate the very clear career trajectory in NYC, which is visibly different to the diverse experience of participants in London.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 4 CD INTERVIEW AND SURVEY RESULTS

This section of the appendix contains folders with the following material:

London Survey Results (PDF)

New York City Survey Results (PDF)

Coding Used For Both Survey and Interviews

Full SPSS Result for London Survey and Interviews

Full SPSS Results for NYC Survey and Interviews

APPENDIX 5 CD INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

This section of the appendix contains two folders with the follow material:

A Single PDF Document of London Interview Transcripts

A Single PDF Document of NYC Interview Transcripts

APPENDIX 6 NEWSPAPER IMAGE

Full size image of Figure 69